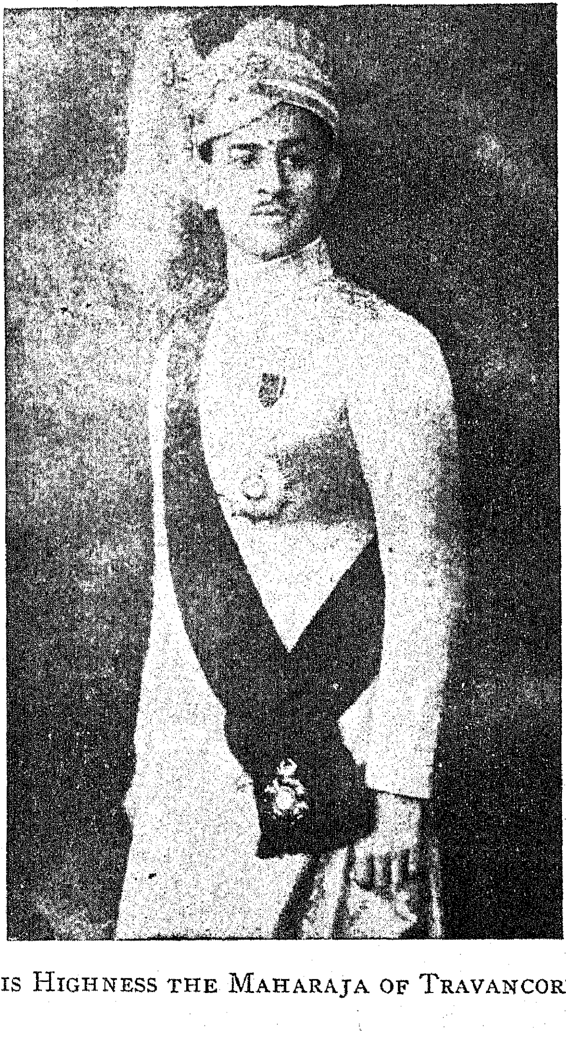

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE.

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE MARTHANDA VARMA.
(The Elaya Raja)

A HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE

BY

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PREFACE

THE evolution of a country or its people is a gradual process. History is a record of this progressive development. The facts of history have to be appraised in terms of human values. History cannot separate the story of human achievements from laws of progress which direct those achievements. There is a great need for such a history of the States in view of the Federation which, whatever its merits or defects, seeks to bring together the various Provinces and States of India.

When therefore the long-established and enterprising Firm of Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras, wrote and asked me if I would write a History of Travancore for their publication, I readily agreed and accomplished the work within the limits of the space allotted for the purpose. It is designed to supply as completely as may be, a sequential story of events with their significance in the unfolding of general progress. I have dealt with the vital facts in a manner compatible with a clear understanding of them, so as to make the book as useful to the school boy as interesting to the general reader. I have tried to synthesise materials gathered in the course of my extensive investigation of years and scattered in my writings

published from time to time. I have attempted to bring out an up-to-date complete History of Travancore and to attain an impartial outlook in doing so.

I think I may well point out certain distinctive features that mark out the history of Travancore as unique and of wider import and interest.

Reclaimed from the sea, this *Samudra-Kanyaka* of a land, full of lakes and forests and mountains which cover the bulk of the country, presents such a beauty and variety of natural scenery as are rarely to be met with elsewhere in India.

Nowhere in India does woman occupy such an enlightened and independent position. Matriarchy, in spite of legislative acts to end it among the majority of the people, is still the law of succession in the Ruling family which is the most ancient in India. Among its distant progenitors were the great Cheraman Perumal and Kulasekhara Alwar canonised in the hierarchy of South Indian saints.

Sri Sankaracharya, who changed the whole atmosphere of Hindu religious thought, consecrated by his birth the northern frontier, while sage Agastya, the father and founder of Tamil literature, sanctified by his residence the southern border of the country.

Its commercial relations were far flung since Pliny's days. Its pepper and spices were sold in the Roman Piazza; in the middle ages the Arab and the

Chinese traders bartered their goods at the port of Quilon; and in later centuries the several companies of European traders paid their homage to "the Queen of Attanga," from whom the English got their earliest settlement of Anjengo on the west coast.

It is the most Christian part of India, made possible by the gospel of social justice and religious tolerance proclaimed and practised from the days of Cheraman Perumal. From the fourth to the ninth century, the Kings of Venad granted the Christians social and commercial privileges. Later on, Kartika Tirunal Rama Varma befriended Fra Bartolomeo and helped forward the cause of the Latin Christians; the Ranee Regents did much to encourage the London Mission and the Church Mission in Travancore.

It is a remarkable fact that most of the rulers won distinction in one branch or another of Science, Literature and Arts.

In a word, Travancore throws up numerous cameos of the past in respect of social, political and religious movements so full of general interest. We are on the threshold of a new time and it points to far horizons.

I have nothing more to say than that further facts and suggestions for improvement will be thankfully received.

May 1938. S. RAMANATH AIYAR.

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A HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General features of the country

The history of a country is an account of its peoples—the facts and events in their life and their progress under a chief leader who, when crowned, is called king or queen as the case may be. Now we should know something of the country itself first—where it lies, what its general features are and how they are a help or hindrance. This will make for a clear understanding of history.

Situation

Travancore is situated in the extreme south-west of the Indian Peninsula. In shape it is somewhat like the trunk of an elephant. With its apex there, it lies between 8° 4′ and 10° 22′ north latitude and between 76° 13′ and 77° 35′ east longitude. It is flanked by a lofty range of mountains on the east—the Western Ghats. It is girt by extensive waters on the west—the Arabian Sea. The sister State of Cochin and the British District of Coimbatore border it on the north, while the Ghats separate it from the British districts of Madura and Tinnevelly on the east. Confined within these limits, the country covers an area of 7,625 square miles. Its extreme length is 174 miles and its extreme breadth 75. But this width gradually grows less and less from north to south until it tapers to a point at Cape Comorin.

Climate

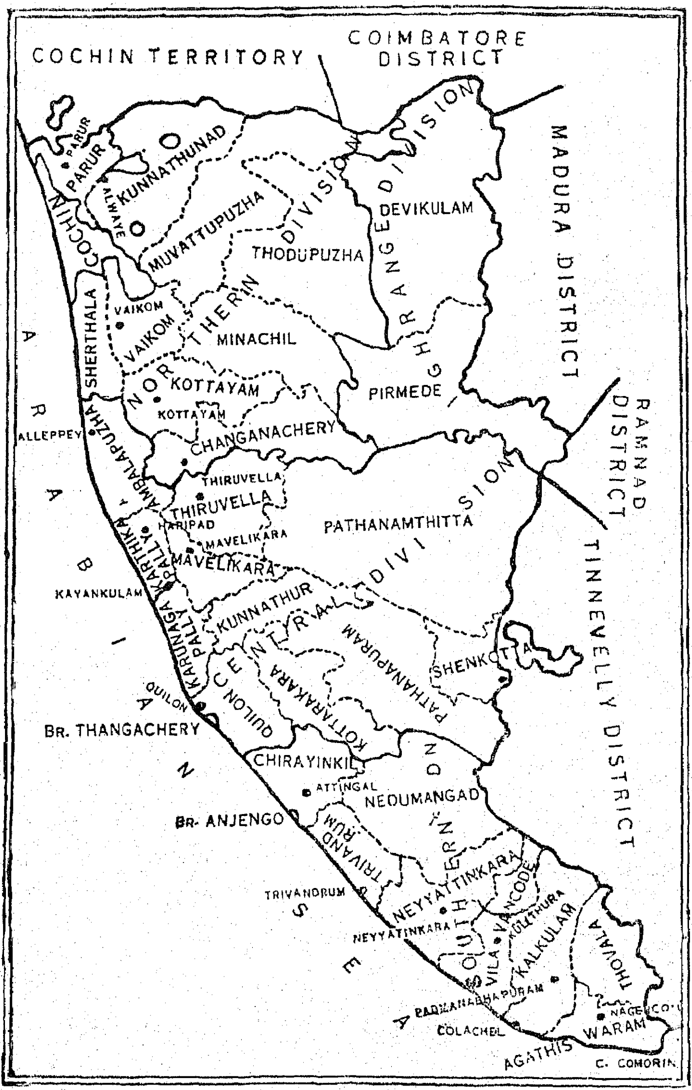
The country is in the direct path of the South-West Monsoon and gets a full share of the North-East Monsoon. There is heavy rain-fall. The climate is warm and humid.

Rivers and Lakes

There are very many rivers—big and small. The largest is the Periyar as the name implies. Its enormous volume of water is diverted by a tunnel right through the Ghats. It fertilizes the arid British District of Madura. Travancore has leased out 8000 acres of land above the river-line. For this, the British Government pay an annual rent of Rs. 40,000. The Kodayar and the Paralayar in the south are the smallest. Their water is also diverted by dams and projects for the purpose of irrigation. They enrich the Nanjanad, known as the granary of the south. There is a succession of lakes or back-waters linked by canals. These waterways are a special feature of the country. They make transport easy and cheap.

Three well-marked regions

From the mountain range to the very verge of the sea-board is an expanse of rolling country scarred and slashed all over by rapid rivers, rocks and ravines. The country presents three well-marked regions—the narrow but extensive sea-belt, covered with cocoanut groves and green rice-fields; the mountain region, full of lofty forests and hills with valleys in between, noted for the cultivation of pepper, cardamom, tea and rubber; and the middle region between the two, specially suited for agricultural crops such as paddy, tapioca, banana, yams and a variety of edible roots all of which



MAP OF MODERN TRAVANCORE

form staple articles of food. The High Range division constitutes a stretch of lofty mountain plateau—the home of planters and a paradise for sportsmen. The middle country with crests of vast and varied elevations slopes gradually down to the coast and is the seat and centre of society. And the coastal tract is a level of sands stretching inwards into a desert as in the literal regions of Shertallai which on that account bears the name of *Karapuram.* The sandy edge of the country, lined by a series of lakes and canals, is fringed with the glistening green of feathery cocoanut palms which take to the soil with phenomenal fecundity; while, in the interior, the innumerable winding valleys are rich with the verdure of vast stretches of rice-fields and fruit-gardens.

Sea Gates

Travancore has several ports. The important ports are Cape Comorin, Colachel, Trivandrum, Quilon and Alleppey. Since 1878 the State is maintaining a marine department for the control of these ports. Robert Gordon was the first Commercial Agent at Alleppey. Levy of port dues was introduced in 1860. A lighthouse was constructed at Alleppey in 1862. It is one hundred and fifteen feet high and has a revolving light which can be seen twenty miles out at sea. Alleppey is forty-nine miles north of Quilon and thirty-five miles south of Cochin. It is the key-port to Travancore. It has a fine harbour with a pier from which there is a tramway to work to the warehouses in the neighbourhood. Quilon is the central port of Travancore. It has a flagstaff and

life-buoys. Colachel is the southern port and it played an important part in the early history of the State. The largest number of steamers call in at the port of Alleppey. Then comes Quilon. Trivandrum stands next and Colachel comes last.

Frontier Taluks

To the common characteristics of the Malayala land of which the State is a typical specimen, the two taluks of Nanjanad in the southern frontier and the taluk of Shencottah on the eastern frontier are exceptions. These regions partake of the level evenness of the east coast. There, Tamil is the spoken language of the bulk of the people and their social and domestic life is very much after that of the Tamils of the adjoining British District of Tinnevelly.

Population

According to the census of 1931, Travancore has a population of 50,95,973 of which 25,65,073 are males and 25,30,900 are females. In respect of population, the State stands third among the Indian States. About two-thirds of the people are Hindus, while the remaining one-third are Christians. On account of its mountainous character, the High Range division is the least populated. Barring this, the frontier taluks of Thovalai in the south and Shencottah in the east are also sparsely peopled.

Broadly speaking, there are four sections of the people—the class of Brahmins who form the sacerdotal community; the class of Nairs who form the military

caste; the class of Ezhavas who form the industrial unit, and the class of Cherumars who are the labouring classes. Among the first two, there have been close social and ceremonial relations from the dawn of history. The Christians and the Muhammadans who came later on were not slow to enter into partnership with their Hindu brethren. There is a sense of spontaneous loyalty to the sovereign, along with the newly awakened sense of the rights of citizenship.

Scope and plan of History

Travancore is one of the five Madras States—the biggest of them. It is the only surviving kingdom of the ancient triarchy of Tamil India. It is one of the two that remain alive from among the States of old in Kerala or the Malayala Nad. It is the oldest of all the Indian States of to-day and one of the most progressive of them all.

Travancore had been a battle-ground of native strength—first of the Nairs around the ideal of feudalism; next of the Nambudiris around the ideal of priestly politics; then of the Perumals around the ideal of federalism; and finally of the conquest and consolidation of Maharaja Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, around the ideal of a constitutional monarchy. Travancore had also been the testing ground of different faiths till her great son and saint Sri Sankaracharya led off Hinduism round the creed of monism. The founding of the Malabar Era by a Travancore sovereign is the first flash-point in the history of the country. Travancore

had also been the rallying point of conflicting foreign trade interests. The traders took sides and played their parts in the rivalries of local princes with diverse fortunes to both. Martanda Varma came into conflict with the Dutch, befriended the English and laid the foundation of Travancore at the time when the English themselves laid the foundation of the British Empire in India.

This is the second flash-point in her history. Both before and after the founding of the Malabar Era, there have been many gaps which future researches alone can adequately fill. But several salient events stand out like isolated peaks. For an intelligent understanding of history, these have to be passed in review as briefly and as rapidly as possible.

CHAPTER II

TRAVANCORE AND EARLY TRADE RELATIONS

The first historical fact that emerges in the early history of Travancore is that the sea and the mountain by which the country is shut in, never shut it out from contact with the wide world outside. As a maritime State it had its earliest trade relations with the world.

Its extensive sea-board, with many a sea-gate and its abundant crop of pepper and other spices, attracted considerable trade from the earliest times. Traders from every land sailed across the sea to the shores of Travancore.

The Phoenicians were the first to come by way of the Persian Gulf and a brisk trade sprang up at one time or another with the Greeks, the Syrians, the Egyptians and the Romans. After their conquest of Egypt, the Arabs too were not slow to follow. Early travellers describe Travancore as the land of mother-right. The advent of St. Thomas, the Apostle, is a disputed point. But the immigration of Christians from Baghdad, Jerusalem and Ninev, under the lead of the merchant Thoma Cana, is an established fact. The Chera King entertained and encouraged them by the grant of land and dignities endorsed on copper plates. The fact is that the Chera King himself maintained a fleet. Of this there is ample proof in ancient Tamil writings.

There was a brisk trade with the Chinese in the ninth century A.D. Quilon was the chief port of call for Chinese ships on their way to the Persain Gulf. The Travancore Raja had embassies from the Celestial Emperor. There were Chinese Factors in the port of Quilon. The port dues were said to be light. Marco Polo was a Venetian merchant. He held office in the court of the Chinese Emperor, Kubla Khan. Writing towards the close of the thirteenth century, he says:—"The merchants from Nanzi (China) and from Arabia and from the Levant come thither with their ships and merchandise and make great profits both by what they import and by what they export." Here the Syrian Mapillas traded; the Muslim Möplas traded; the Elavas traded; and the Brahmins too from the East Coast. According to Marco Polo "they are the best merchants in the world—the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth."

The Arabs came under the lead of Shaik Ibn Dinar and Malik Ibn Habib. They settled down in Quilon and Cranganore and built mosques. The trade of Travancore and Malabar was in the hands of the Arabs till the advent of the Portuguese. The immediate outcome of these early trade-relations was the settlement in the country of a large colony of Christians and Muhammadans—larger indeed than anywhere else in India.

The first European merchants who came to India by sea were the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese captain, arrived at Calicut on the west coast with his

ships in 1498. For the next hundred years the Portuguese had all the trade to India by sea to themselves. They built factories at various places on the west coast. They built one at Quilon in 1503 and another with a fort at Poracad. Thangachery was a Portuguese possession from 1552 to 1665.

The Dutch followed the Portuguese and gradually supplanted them. They captured Quilon and Thangachery from the Portuguese. They built factories for themselves at Tengapatnam and Poracad. They built a fort too at this latter place.

The English followed next. The English East India Company established factories at Vilinjam and Valiathura. These places declined in importance when the Company built a fort and factory at Anjengo. The Factor in charge was made second in council to Bombay. He controlled the British trade in Travancore at the ports of Colachel, Edava and Vilinjam. The Company took Thangachery from the Dutch in 1795.

Our rich and fertile land has thus attracted traders from various countries to its shores in the course of its long history.

CHAPTER III

TRAVANCORE AND KERALA (MALABAR STATES)

Travancore represents the Chera dynasty of kings. It is one of the three dynasties that exercised sovereignty in Southern India. Karur was the meeting point of the Tamil Triarchy. Chera, however, turned westward. And Kerala or Malainad was the Cheranad par excellence. The Chera king obtained supremacy. But eventually the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas all came to exercise some kind of sway on the west coast. When the last of the Chera Perumals died, there were two collateral branches—the Northern Kolathiri ofKolathanad and the King of Venad. Eventually Kerala came to be cut up into four states as a result of the longstanding rivalries and quarrels among the people. The conflict was between the feudalism of the Nairs on the one hand and the ecclesiasticism of the Nambudiris on the other. The Raja who was in between had to rise superior to both. How he accomplished this feat is the burden of past Chera history. At the time dated history begins, there were, in Malabar and Travancore, Nair Chiefs and Nambudiri Chiefs.

The Nair lords had military control of Nads of varied size. Each baron had military vassals subordinate to him. Their business was to render military service in

time of need. Those who served in the army enjoyed lands free of tax. The Tara was the tribal unit of the Nairs. They had Kalaries and Kavus, and they had a distinct organization formed on mother-right and military service. The former counts relationship exclusively from the mother's side. The base was the family or tara; each governed by a Karnavan – the eldest male member of a family. A group of families constituted a Kara, and several Karas made a Nad. Every Nair was ordained as a soldier; groups of soldiers were attached to the leaders; and groups of leaders clustered round the Nad-vazhi. The Nad-vazhis were either Swarupis who had power of life and death or Madampis—their vassals. Property was owned in common. The Raja owned nothing but crown lands and looked to other sources of income such as succession duty, protection money; besides fines, tolls and penalty and a variety of Kazcha or Nuzzar. The king alone made war; Nadu-vazhis and knights (Madampis) supplied troops and fought for the king. In return for this they owned land as fiefs. Under this arrangement no Raja could hold his own. The feudal Nairs had constant rivalries and factions and fights among themselves.

The colony of the Nambudiris came at first under the traditional lead of Parasurama. They easily entered into the life of the Nairs and adapted themselves to local customs and manners. They widely took Nair women as wives and raised the domestic status of the Nairs. They founded the superior class of temples, around which grew 64 groups of gramams, of which Chengannur

in Travancore was the southern most. No service was looked down upon as low. The general standard of life was purified. All those who had eschewed spirituous drink and meat were levelled up. None felt the inferiority complex. It was a federation of peoples and rulers built into the temple. It became the political nerve-centre.

When the Raja found that all real power vested in the Nadu-vazhi chiefs, he looked to the temple to recover his lost power. He entered the temple as the *sthani* and re-emerged from it as the Raja. The temple institutions answered to Catholic churches in Europe in the middle ages. They had extensive lands and held temporal power. The Travancore Raja became the Tripapur Swarupi; the Cochin Raja, the Perumpadap Swarupi; the Ernad Raja, the Neduvirip Swarupi and so on. Thus Kshetra-sambandham or temple-connection became the true *sine qua non* of kingship.

Religious Struggles

It was left to Sri Sankaracharya, the greatest of Indian philosophers, who was a native of Kerala, to deal the death-blow to Buddhism and to establish the supremacy of Hinduism on the basis of monism of which he is the absolute monarch.

The local Rajas grouped themselves for mutual protection. There were four big States and as many as forty to fifty petty principalities. Travancore lay in the south and Chirakkal in the north. In between were Cochin and Calicut. Travancore and Chirakkal were collateral

branches and coalescent. They all found in the Chera King of Travancore their protector. It was he who founded the Malabar Era in 825 A. D. to mark the new order of things. It is proof of the power and position held by the Travancore ruler and of the united homage paid to him throughout all Malabar. It is a remarkable fact that, in 1312-13 A.D., Ravi Varma Kulasekhara of Travancore, who became ruler of Kerala, overran the territories of the Chola and the Pandya as far as Conjeevaram and was crowned Emperor of Southern India, with the titles of Sangramadhira and Dakshina-Bhojaraja. Travancore was first and foremost and counted as a great political factor in all Malabar.

CHAPTER IV

TRAVANCORE AND EARLY KINGS

This king ascended the throne in 1671, and ruled for six years. In his reign the Ettu Veetil Pillamar, whowere a band of noblemen, became all powerful. They strove to over-reach the Yogakars, who were a body of eight men of the priestly class, administering the temple. In their mutual wrangles, the shrine of Sree Padma nabha came to be shut up. The King was pious, and strove to restore the religious service in the temple. The Pillamar resented his interference. In their fury the palace was set fire to and burnt to ashes. The Raja escaped to a suburban villa at Puthenkotta and lived there. The Pillamar pretended innocence, and the credulous Raja believed them. He was found dead from the effects of poison mixed with cakes taken to him from the temple. This was in 1677.

Aditya Varma (1671-1677)

Aditya Varma had no male heirs. Umayamma Rani was the Queen of Attangal then. In Travancore, as in Malabar, the woman is the fountain and origin of the royal family, and the succession follows the line of sisters. Hence Umayamma, the Rani of Attangal, succeeded to the throne. It should be remembered that the Travancore ruling family has five

Umayamma Rani (1678-1684)

branches. Attangal is one of them. The others are Quilon (Desinganad), Kottarakara (Elayadath Swarupam), Nedumangad and Tripapur. Umayamma belonged to the Swarupam of Chiravoy near Attangal which was the main branch of the Tripapur Swarupam of the ruling Raja.

Before her accession she had entered into commercial relations with the Dutch. The Dutch Governor Van Rheede says that she was both feared and respected. She had six sons—all young; and with them she came to Trivandrum and ascended the throne.

The Ettu Veetil Pillamar then became all powerful. They raised taxes and kept the whole money to themselves. Out of this they paid the militia. With its help, they kept everything in their own hands.

When the Naick power passed into the hands of the Nawab of Arcot, a Muhammadan adventurer known to history as Mukilan marched with an army to Travancore. Ostensibly, he came to recover arrears of tribute due to the defunct Naick ruler. He laid waste the whole country, came up to Trivandrum and encamped at Manakad near the fort and the temple. At the sight of his cavalry and armed foot-soldiers, the Ettu Veetil Pillamar took to their heels and dispersed in different directions. The invader had thus an easy march to power. His sway extended practically over the whole of Venad. He was dissuaded by the loyal Pathans of Manakad, from destroying the temple or converting the people to Muham-

Mukilan Padai (1680)

madanism. He, however, brought in and enforced certain Muhammadan customs among the people. Circumcision is one of them. Eating from the same dish is another. Covering the head with a kerchief is a third. Tattooing the body is yet another.

Rani restored to power

The Rani at Nedumangad found herself in a difficult situation. She approached the Kottayam Raja in Malabar for help. Her appeal was readily answered by Kerala Varma Raja, the great soldier-poet of the time. He hastened to Trivandrum, organised a force from among the Rani's loyal adherents, and drove out the Muslim adventurer. He next pursued Mukilan to South Travancore, and killed him in battle at Thiruvettar. He came back in triumph and restored the Rani to power and position. He built two palaces in one of which she and in the other he lived in peace. But this peace did not last long. "He was assassinated in his palace by the agents of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar."*

Ravi Varma (1684-1718)

Raja Ravi Varma was the youngest surviving son of Umayamma Rani. He came of age and was crowned king according to custom and right in 1684.

Adoption

The Dowager Rani was strongly desirous of perpetuating the royal family. She was anxious about its future, as there was no legal heir to succeed her son. Her mind was full of thoughts about making an adoption from the Kolath family in the north. Just at this

* *Malabar and the Dutch*, by K. M. Panikkar, p. 59.

juncture there came to her court a Raja of Kolathnad. He was on his way back from a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine of Rameswaram. The queen saw in his visit the gracious hand of God. The Travancore royal house had been on the verge of a sudden political end. A Malabar Raja, by his heroic help, saved it from that catastrophe. Now lack of heirs to succeed her son threatened it with a sudden lineal end. The collateral Kolath Raja of Malabar alone could come to help her out of this menace. She sought his generous help to supply children from the Kolath stock to be adopted into her own. He encouraged her with an express promise; and within a short time of his return home he fulfilled it. Four young scions—two princes and two princesses—became available. They were duly adopted. With the pleasant memory of seeing her son in power and of having strengthened the family, the queen passed away in 1684.

Ravi Varma was an able and diplomatic ruler. He created the King's Treasury for the first time, and insisted on all payments being made into it and properly accounted for. He had two adversaries to contend with, one from within—the Ettu Veetil Pillamar—and the other from without—the Naick raiders. He strove to put down both and resorted to a stratagem for the purpose. As usual the Naick's army came to exact tribute. He bargained with its generals, and made liberal offers to them. In return they agreed to overcome the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and delivered a sudden offensive against them. Most of the latter escaped by flight made or price paid. Scarcely had the Naick's army dispersed, when Ravi Varma, with his own army held in ambush, set upon them and put them to flight.

Mangammal was the Queen Regent at Madura at the time. She burned with rage on learning of the disaster which had overtaken her army; and athirst for revenge, she sent her Dalava Narasappa with a large army to Travancore. He gave battle to the Travancore army and defeated it. He exacted the tribute in arrears, enforced its continuance for the future, and went back with rich spoil taken in war.

Rani Mangammal's Retaliation (1697)

One great thing Ravi Varma did; he befriended the English. The English East India Company had already been granted permission to build factories in Vilinjam and Valiathura (Ruthera) and to occupy Anjengo. The Company built a trade factory and a fort at Anjengo in due course. By agreement the Factor in charge used to make an annual payment of *nuzzur* to the Attangal Rani. The Ettu Veetil Pillamar now tried to poach upon this source of income. In 1721 they directly made the demand in the name of the Rani. Gyfford, the Chief Factor, doubted its genuineness. He sent the money and presents through two of his own assistants with a body of soldiers for protection. They were waylaid and murdered. Not satisfied with this the murderers followed with a force and besieged the fort of Anjengo. Gunner Ince kept them at bay till relief came from Tellicherry. The Raja came to terms with the English and made good their loss. He also built them a factory at Colachel. The Company thereupon agreed to put down his enemies and protect the king.

English Factories

Raja Rama Varma who ascended the throne in 1724 was the second of the two princes adopted from the

northern family. He resolved to break the power of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and the Yogakars. He entreated the help of the Madura Naicks and entered into a formal agreement with them. By this the Raja bound himself to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 3,000 and the Naick bound himself in turn to send a strong contingent of soldiers to the Raja's help. In 1726 an army of 1000 cavalry and 2000 Carnatic infantry marched into Travancore under the command of Tirupathi Naick and Venkatapathi Naick. The Ettu Veetil Pillamar and the Yogakars took to flight in terror.

Rama Varma (1724-1728)

Prince Martanda Varma worked hand in hand with his ruling uncle. In order to ensure the friendship of the English, he went to Attangal and persuaded the Rani to make over the factory at Edava to them.

All this was more than the Ettu Veetil Pillamar could endure. In their fury they attempted to attack the Rani and her son (the future Rama Varma the Great) on their way from Attangal to Trivandrum. Kerala Varma of Kilimanur saved both the queen and the prince by a contrivance. He got them away through another way. Fully armed he got into their palanquin, and faced the assailants headed by Ramananadath Pillai, one of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar. Kerala Varma repulsed them all but in the duel that followed, he was cut down to death. It was for this heroic service that the freehold of the Kilimanur estate was bestowed upon his family who still enjoy it.

1728

CHAPTER V

MAHARAJA MARTANDA VARMA OR TRAVANCORE AND THE DUTCH WARS

Martanda Varma (1729-1758)

On Rama Varma's demise, his nephew Martanda Varma ascended the throne. With his reign we move into a new era in the history of Travancore. He was the son of one of the two princesses adopted from the Kolath stock. As such he was a full-blooded Malayala Raja and a northerner to the tips of his fingers. This fact however did not count with the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and the Madampis. They were up against kingship and therefore against him. He had joined his uncle and played a part against them. This rankled in their minds. They left nothing undone to chase him from place to place. He had many a hair-breadth escape from their hands. He owed his life now to a Brahmin as at the Kalliankad temple; now to a Pariah as at the Peruvila paracheri; now to a Sambavar as at Aikanicheri; now to an Ezhava as at Perunkidavila; now to a stalwart Muslim as at the Panayara lake; now to the friendly hollow of a jack tree as at Neyyattinkara, known as Ammachi pilavu.

Pandya Arbitration (1730-1731)

They who tried to take away his life ever so often began now to impeach his right to the throne. His uncle had two sons—Padmanabhan Tampi and Raman Tampi,—called Kunju Tampies, the title generally borne by the sons of ruling Rajas. They knew perfectly well that the ruling family followed the mother-right. But they

had ambitions of their own. As sons of the late ruler, they aspired to be rulers themselves. To accomplish this they had to displace Martanda Varma. The Ettuveetil Pillamar too were out to remove him from their way. In this common cause, they all joined hands and made a plan. It was to seek the help of the Nawab of Trichinopoly. He was then powerful, His wrath had been roused by Martanda Varma in two ways. The latter had not kept in service the Nawab's army subsidised in the previous reign. He had also not paid the subsidy. The Ettuveetil Pillamar sent Padmanabhan Tampi to Trichinopoly in 1730. He stated that, as the son of his father, who was the late ruler, he was the proper claimant to the throne and complained that Martanda Varma had taken it by force. This plea naturally appealed to the Nawab who could naturally see no right other than father-right. The plea was strengthened by the present of one elephant and 65,000 Fanams raised among the Ettu Veetil Pillamar by contribution of 10,000 Fanams each in six and a half shares in all. A large slice of territory was also promised if he would set the Tampi on his father's throne. The Nawab fell in with the plan and commissioned one of his officers, Alagappa Mudaliar, to proceed at once to Travancore with a strong army and espouse and enforce the Tampi's cause. With his army the Mudaliar came and camped at Udayagiri, not far from Kalkulam—the Raja's capital.

The Raja sent Rama Aiyar to meet him. Rama Aiyar who first came to the notice of the Raja as the bright boy who brightened the lamp that dimmed at a royal banquet was the Palace Under-Secretary and a very able man who could, by his ability, rise equal to any situation. He met

the Mudaliar and gave him a clear account of the law of succession in the female line. According to this a king's son could never succeed his father. A king without a brother or sister or her son or daughter was without a legal heir. The Travancore royal house belonged to the Southern Kolathiri family with five branches. There was a collateral northern family with a few branches in North Malabar. The tie between these two families had long been kept up by adoption. Martanda Varma's two predecessors had been so adopted along with two princesses. One of these had died. Martanda Varma was the son of the other princess. He was therefore the full-blooded and only rightful heir to the throne of his uncle. All this convinced the arbitrator. But what converted him was the payment of the unpaid tribute together with more money to make up for army expenses and loss. What was more, Rama Aiyar held out rich rewards for military help to control the situation. All this had an instantaneous effect. The arbitrator dismissed the Tampi's claim and placed at the disposal of the Raja the troops which he had brought down to fight for the cause of the Tampi.

The Raja came out with this force to face his enemies. They were stunned by the sudden turn in the tide of events. Terror-stricken, they ran neck and neck for life and safety.

The Raja kept in his service a part of the Nawab's force, mobilised a fresh army of Maravas and strengthened his hands in every way. There was peace and quiet.

He then rebuilt the sacred shrine of Sri Padmanabha, his patron deity. He took the temple affairs into his

own hands. He broke the power of the Ettarayogam and took no account of the Yogakars at all.

He strengthened the State. He introduced many reforms. He opened new roads and canals. He personally looked over the water-works and brought water to the very doors of the cultivators. He became the idol of the people.

But he had only scotched but not killed his enemies—the Ettu Veetil Pillamar. They rallied together and made a plot to kill him.

The Venganur Plot (1732)

Soon after the return of the Trichinopoly troops and the detachment of the Raja's army for duty at the frontier and other different centres, a conspiracy was hatched at Venganur—the seat of the Ettu Veetil Pillai of that name. Venganur is a suburb within ten miles of Trivandrum. It has now the ruins of a wayside inn. In this some of the rebel barons—Kazhkuttum and Kodumun among them—met and hatched a plot. It was to kill the king on the Arat day of the Trivandrum temple. It was the first function after the temple had been rebuilt by Martanda Varma. The Raja would lead the procession of the deity from the temple to the beach. They should all go armed as his escort. At the end of the procession they were to set upon the Raja by surprise on his way back from the beach to the palace. This was the resolution passed at the meeting. It was written down on *olas* or palm leaves. These were concealed in slippers and borne by the bearers to all others concerned in the plot. Some of the Pottis connected with the Yogakars too

were parties to it. The inn-keeper (a Pandaram), who overheard the conspiracy, carried the news to Rama Aiyar. Thereupon two of the bearers were caught red-handed and secretly kept in custody.

On the Arat day in the month of Thulam, the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and their accomplices arrived in a body, ready to execute their plan. But they saw the Raja boldly venturing out with a strong body-guard of armed cavalry. The schemers were thus shocked and cheated out of their design.

The two Tampis (1733)

The Raja went to Nagercoil. The two Tampis swore vengeance on him. They proceeded there apparently to pay their respects. The sentry did not allow them to enter the palace, as they were armed. In his excitement one of the Tampis drew out his sword. But before he dealt the blow, the guard had already struck him dead. The other Tampi rushed into the king's chamber, and aimed a blow at the king with his sword. But luckily the sword hit the beam, and the king drew out his Persian dagger and slew his adversary with it. The Tampis sought the life of the king and lost theirs in the attempt.

Rebels scrapped

The Ettu Veetil Pillamar too were after the king's life. But their plot was discovered. The ring-leaders were seized and brought to trial. Martanda Varma's proceedings were regular and constitutional. He gave the traitors a chance of defence at the trial. They could not but admit their crimes. The evidence of the *ola* document produced before them was unanswerable. They were

all declared guilty and hanged except the Brahmin Pottis who were banished. All their lands and properties were added to the State. They reaped the harvest they had sown. "Thus ended a race of chiefs who had been guilty of rebellion against the royal house for many hundreds of years, and at whose hands the royal family had suffered injuries and wrongs of the most inhuman and atrocious character." *

Till now Martanda Varma warred for the recovery of his own kingdom. It was caught as in a vice between two factions—the Yogakars and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar. With their breakdown, the State came into its own; and the Raja into his own.

The Eighteen Principalities of Travancore

At this time there were eighteen principalities in Travancore :—

1. **Thiruvancode**—The nucleus of Travancore, called Tripapur Swarupam, *i.e.*, *Venad* proper with Kalkulam as its capital.

2. **Attangal**—ruled by the collateral queen belonging to the Travancore royal house, known as Sree Padam. Attangal was formerly called Koopa Desam from which the ruling Ranis took their dynastic name of Queen of the Koopakas as borne out by inscriptional evidence. This is also evidenced by the title of Kilaperur held by the Travancore king in token of his marital alliance with the Attangal family.

3. **Elayadath Swarupam or Nedumangad and Kottarakara**—(also ruled by a queen).

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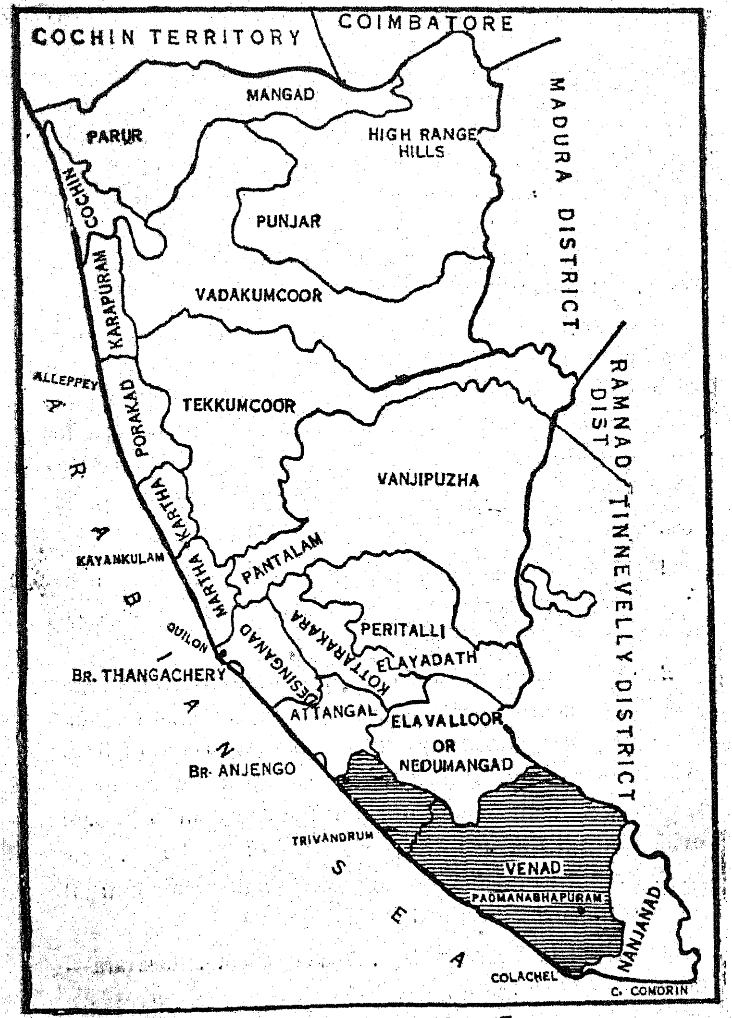
* See Shungunny Menon's ***History of Travancore***, p. 125.



TRAVANCORE IN THE 18TH CENTURY
(SHADED PORTION)

4. **Peritali or Pathanapuram**—with Pattazhi as its capital.

5. **Singanad or Kollam**—(Quilon), *i.e.*, Desinga or Jaysimhanad, ruled alike by queens, with a body-guard of women archers.

6. **Chiravoi Swarupam or Kalli Quilon**—*i.e.*, Kayankulam or Onad, ruled by one queen, who divided it among her four daughters.

7. **Martha or Karunagapalli**—including part of Mavelikara which merged into (6).

8. **Kartha or Venmani**—comprehended by Kartigapalli and part of Mavelikara.

9. **Tekkumcoor**—the chieftaincies of Tiruvella and Changanacherry and of Kottayam with eighteen Madampis and two powerful Kaimals under its vassalage.

10. **Porakad or Ambalapuzhai or Chempakanad or Kuttanad**—whose Raja was a Nambudiri Brahman of Chembakaseri Swarupam.

11. **Pantalam.**

12. **Vadakumcoor or Venmalai Nad**—or the lake regions closed in by the great Vembanad lake.

13. **Poonjar or Thodupuzhai**—Cardamom hills.

14. **Vanjipuzha**—the principality of the Uzhithirar stock of Nambudiris, closely allied to the Travancore Rani by marital alliance.

15. **Trikkunnapuzha and Edapalli**—principalities of the Elangalloor Swarupam.

16. **Alangad**—or the Mangad Swarupam.

17. **Parur**—ruled by a king of the Pindani Vattam Swarupam.

18. **Karappuram**—under the sway of the Elayedathu Swarupam.

Conquests

Venad was only a small kingdom. The ambition of Martanda Varma was to expand his territory. Every king in Kerala tried to make a single state of all Kerala. Chirakal tried; Calicut tried; Cochin tried; it was now Travancore's turn to try. It was a Herculean task. Martanda Varma had the genius and the ability for it. He had in Rama Aiyar a minister equally able and loyal. Never were monarch and minister so well matched. Their schemes of conquest were in keeping with the tradition of Kerala.

Quilon (1733)

Martanda Varma's first attempt was to bring together all the branches of his own royal stock. Quilon was one such. Its ruler stood in need of adoption. Martanda Varma was his close kith and kin. The ruler of Kayankulam was an outsider and a rival to Martanda Varma. The Quilon Raja made the adoption from the Kayankulam family. His preference of a rival as against a relative incensed Martanda Varma. He looked upon the adoptive tie as a defiance and a danger. He decided to invade Quilon, marched upon it with an army and took possession of the fort. The Quilon Raja was taken to Trivandrum and kept there in duress.

Kayankulam subdued

The Kayankulam adoption was stultified. This provoked the Raja of Kayankulam. He turned upon Travancore. With the aid of Cochin he made himself strong and freed the Quilon Raja and put him back on the throne. This led to a war with Kayankulam. Rama Aiyar was sent with a large army to retake Quilon. But his army was not large enough or strong enough to cope with the combined forces of Kayankulam and Quilon. He was beaten off and, what was worse, the Travancore domain at Kallada and Mavelikara was seized and annexed to Kayankulam. Quilon too, whose Raja happened to die, was entered. Martanda Varma did not give up hope. He got fresh arms from his friends, the English factors at Anjengo, and took the field again and organized two campaigns. The one against Quilon met with immediate success; but the one against Kayankulam met with many difficulties at the outset. For the Raja of Kayankulam had secured the help of Porakad, Vadakumcoor and Cochin. There were many drawn fights with no decisive result. The Kayankulam Raja was himself in command of the combined forces. At a critical moment he happened to be killed. But his brother carried on the fight. He had a capable man to marshal the troops—Atchuta Warrier, a warrior of no mean mettle. He was the best type of Nair soldiery. The struggle went on with vigour. Travancore lost heavily, but Rama Aiyar rose to the occasion. He secured the services of stalwart Marava troops. With the strength and support of this new force he carried everything before him and won. The Raja of Kayan-

kulam was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay tribute to Travancore. But this arrangement was not long to be.

Kottarakara (1734)

Kottarakara was another branch of the Travancore ruling family. The State was ruled by a Rani. She was in the hands of an unscrupulous Karyakar (minister). He got the better of her and made her a mere puppet for his designs. In her name, he traded with the Dutch. He gave them pepper at a discount and enriched himself. Things got awry. The English merchants were aghast. As their ally, Martanda Varma hastened to Kottarakara with his troops and drove out the minister. He took the Rani and her State under his protection.

The Dutch War

No neighbouring Raja—friend or foe—felt himself affected by this domestic act of Travancore. No one had any cause of complaint. The Dutch East India Company, however, came to look upon this as high-handed and began to espouse the cause of the Rani. Why did they intervene? Their trade interests required them to maintain the balance of power among the small States. They had also dreams of conquering Malabar. Above all, they dreaded the rising power of Travancore. Their agents approached Martanda Varma and told him that he should, in fairness and justice, re-instate the Rani. But the king turned a deaf ear to their appeal. Then the Dutch Governor himself (Van Imhoff) visited the king, but the latter was stern and unbending. He warned the Governor not to interfere in matters which did not concern him. The Governor grew angry and

threatened to re-instate the Rani by force of arms. True to his word, he did so in 1741 and got from the Rani the reward of a large farm at Airur and in Vechur where a Dutch fort and factory rose soon after.

The Dutch organised three campaigns against Travancore—one in which the Dutch were to take a fleet to the port of Colachel and attack the country from the south ; another to go in support of Kayankulam and Quilon and attack the country from the north ; and the third to go behind in support of the Kottarakara Rani and attack Travancore from the east.

Martanda Varma knew of these plans. He collected a large army and proceeded against the Rani at the outset. He decimated the Dutch forces in battle and retook Kottarakara. It was a great triumph. The queen took to flight and placed herself at the mercy of the Dutch Governor at Cochin, who, it is said, gave her protection on a personal monthly allowance of Rs. 2½ for life.

Before the Raja had done with his northern campaign against Kayankulam, he had perforce to return to the south ; for the Dutch appeared with their fleet off Colachel and landed there. As the army of Travancore was concentrated on the north, the Dutch force found it easy to march far into the interior. From Colachel to Kottar, the coastal tract fell into their hands. Martanda Varma hastened with a fresh army to the south and met the Dutch forces preparing to besiege Kalkulam. He was there in time to turn the tide against them. His strong force of cavalry routed the Dutch troops. In the

Battle of Colachel (1741)

meantime, Rama Aiyar joined him with his troops from the north. Together they drove the Dutch back to Colachel and overthrew their forces completely in the memorable battle there. It was a magnificent victory. The Dutch lost many prisoners and gave up their fort at Colachel; they retreated precipitately to their ships and retired to Cochin. This was in 1741. The Dutch did not recover from this blow which shattered their dreams of supremacy in Malabar. Martanda Varma was now free to devote his entire attention to the north once more.

But before he marched north again, he set to work to re-organise his army. Among the Dutch prisoners whom he had captured at the battle of Colachel, there was a Flemish officer by name, Delannoy. He pledged his faith and took service under the Raja and trained and built up an efficient army for Travancore. The force was well equipped with arms, including the numerous guns captured from the Dutch at Colachel. Delannoy helped to build fortresses with bastions and military stores. He was made second in command to Dalava Rama Aiyar.

With the army thus strengthened, Martanda Varma resumed his northern campaign. Meanwhile Kayankulam which had made itself strong with the help of the Dutch force, captured Quilon and made it the base of operations against Travancore. A long and strenuous fight followed. In the end the Travancore forces stormed the fort at Quilon and pursued the Quilon Raja further north. Kayankulam became the cock-pit of the warfare. It was a war in which the petty states between Quilon and Cochin took part. But eventually Kayankulam fell. It was conquered and annexed in 1746.

Ambalapuzha

Ambalapuzha was a principality ruled by a chain of Nambudiri chiefs. The reigning Nambudiri was Deva Narayanan. It was a temple-state ruled with the help of the temple council known as *Manthrasabha*.

The Travancore Raja wanted at first only to cripple the power of the Ambalapuzha chief and convert him into an ally. But he discovered that the chief had clandestinely aided Kayankulam. In the latter's stores were found a large stock of arms with the Ambalapuzha ensign engraved on them. Thereupon Dalava Rama Aiyar advanced to the conquest of Ambalapuzha. Its ruler was under the dual influence of the Thekadathu Bhattathiri, the high priest of the temple, and Mathur Panikar who held the command of the army. They organized a strong force and gave battle. Dalava Rama Aiyar found it hard to break the Ambalapuzha lines. He did not shrink back. He got down Delannoy with his artillery. It wrought havoc on the enemy's ranks. A panic seized the Ambalapuzha army. Its commander realised that it was futile to resist the onslaught. He changed sides and went over to Travancore and received large rewards of land and title. Betrayed at the last moment by his own general, the Ambalapuzha Raja had no other alternative but to surrender. He was taken to Trivandrum and kept there a prisoner. Ambalapuzha was annexed to Travancore in 1754.

The war was concluded by the Dutch treaty, for which negotiations began in 1743 and which was eventually concluded at Mavelikara in 1748. The terms were humiliating to the Dutch for the Travancore king

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treated them not as a political power but as mere merchants. By this treaty the Dutch agreed to give up all alliance with the petty chiefs of Malabar and not "to give them any shelter or oppose Travancore's enterprises."

As a result of this treaty, a new situation arose. Cochin formed an alliance with the fugitive chiefs of Ambalapuzha, Vadakumcoor and Tekkumcoor. The confederacy was joined by the disaffected Madampis of Shertala and the Nairs of Kayankulam. They made a united attack on Travancore and encamped in Porakad. Martanda Varma had a temporary indisposition. Prince Rama Varma with Dalava Rama Aiyar and Captain Delannoy led a strong force of artillery, infantry and cavalry and made a determined attack on the allied forces. The bulk of the Cochin army was slain on thefield.

The Dalava annexed Shertala and marched in triumph and took possession of the Cochin Raja's palace. The Raja yielded himself up and sued for peace. A treaty was concluded providing for mutual help against a common enemy and for the surrender of all tracts already conquered by Travancore. The ruler of Travancore was magnanimous to his beaten foe and did not annex Cochin. Fra Bartalomeo says: "Thus ended the dominion of petty sovereigns; thus was humanity avenged; thus were the crimes punished and licentiousness suppressed by which the country had been distracted ever since the tenth century."* Maharaja Martanda Varma and his warrior minister Rama Aiyar Dalava made the Travancore of to-day.

* *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 172.

To this marvellous achievement of state-conquest and state-control, the heroic sovereign super-added a state-religion. He reconstructed the ancient shrine of Sri Padmanabha; dedicated the dominion to the presiding Deity; and assumed sovereignty in His name and as a sacred trust.

Ruler becomes Sri Padmanabha Dasa

This transaction is known as *Thirupadidanam*. Martanda Varma, the senior member of Tripapur, became "Sri Pandara Karyam Cheyvarkal." Since then the Koikal was converted into Perumal-Kottaram (palace) and the Maharaja assumed the title of *Sri Padmanabha Dasa*. In this great act of policy, Martanda Varma followed the spirit and example of the times. The title of Sri Padmanabha Dasa assumed by this ruler has been continued by his successors till to-day. It is an unmistakable token of God guarding and guiding the king. It is "Dharma" or duty deified. It has been and is still the motto of our Maharajas. The effect of this has been the devoted attachment of the subjects of the State to their rulers.

Commotion after conquest

There were still troubles to face; there was the gathering of disaffection in a newly-conquered country. North Travancore became the centre of disaffection which manifested itself among the inhabitants of Ambalapuzha, Changanacherry, Kottayam and Ettumanur. The Zamorin of Calicut fomented the trouble. He powerfully appealed to the Nair nobles and knights to recover their power which had been broken so rudely; Dalava Rama Aiyar did not falter. With uncompromising

firmness he persuaded the Raja to proceed at once to the disturbed area. The ruler spared nothing to crush the spirit of rebellion. It was then he invoked the help of Hyder. The commotion suddenly subsided and saved the need of Hyder's proffered help. Its rejection, however, sowed the seeds of future trouble.

The Zamorin next turned to the Nambudiris and tried to stir them to rebellion. He organised the Thirunavai Yogam as a rival to the Trichur Yogam. The rivalry spread among the several Nambudiri congregations. They held quasi-sovereign powers in their respective cantons. The seven *Stanathil Pottis* or High priests of the several orders had a good deal to do with Travancore. They had a voice in the Ettarayogam constitution. There were also the *Pathillathu Pottis* or the priests of the Ten Houses. They became the ritualistic priests of the Travancore royal house and enjoyed the same rank for purposes of State privilege as the stanathil pottis. The Mambally Pandarathil or the Vanjipuzha chief was the head of the Pathillams. When after the Thirupadidanam, the entire political control came to vest in the Maharaja, they had good reason to be discontented; and the Zamorin's effort to create trouble through them met with initial success.

A great State Ceremony

Dalava Rama Aiyar rose equal to the occasion. In consultation with his royal master he hit upon the idea of "Murajapom." It was a political "*At Home*" to the disaffected Nambudiris. It partook of the nature of an intercessory prayer to ward off the sins of war and to secure the permanent welfare of the Travancore ruling

family. As a peace-offering, the function was to continue temporarily for a limited number of sexennial rounds; as a prayer-offering, it became a permanent institution more or less. How vital and important this sexennial ceremony of Murajapom proved, will be perceived from the sudden subsidence of the Nambudiri revolt set up by the Zamorin. The ceremony is little short of a course of prayer. It lasts for fifty-six days. The chanters of the prayer are Nambudiris: at state expense they are invited along with their religious leaders and accorded a royal reception and treated to *sadhya* or feeding on a grand scale; and the function closes with a grand illumination. By the homage paid to the Nambudiris the Murujapom secured their good-will; by the help it gave the Nair commissariats, it destroyed all lingering traces of their disaffection; it frustrated the designs of the Zamorin; it supported the state religion; it satisfied the personal piety of the ruler.

Having put down the rebellion of the Nambudiris and the Nairs, Dalava Rama Aiyar found it easy to defeat the Zamorin whose troops, in the meanwhile, were preparing to march from Parur to Porakad. At this juncture the Mysore army marched into the heart of Calicut and the Zamorin had to retire to meet the invader.

A new situation

The rights of conquest were consolidated with conspicuous generosity. The deposed chiefs and magnates were neither exterminated nor enslaved —never put to the indignity of subjection. The rights of the new subject population were scrupulously regarded. The manifold

types of old land-tenures were maintained in tact. The new subjects joined up cheerfully with the old, and started fully on their former careers and all maintained a common, peaceful, civic life.

After the establishment of internal peace in this wise, Rama Aiyar laid down the frame-work of a new constitution. His constitution of the Revenue Department was one of the notable acts of Martanda Varma's reign. The head of the administration was the Dalava who bore the name of Valia Sarvadhikaryakar in the seventeenth century. It was in 1755 that the scheme came into full force, when the ceded tract of Karapuram came to be constituted into the new taluq of Shertala. The Dalava had his head-quarters at Mavelikara.

New constitution

A new land-system was introduced. It was the first land scheme of the kind in Travancore. It comprised *Tirumukom* lands given to chiefs and nobles for service rendered in war; *Kudijenmom* lands granted for maintenance of certain families whose members had died in war for conspicuous services; *Devadanam* lands assigned to the temples, free of tax; *Brahmadanam* or *Bhattaviruthi* lands given to Brahmins on light quit-rent; *Nair Viruthi* lands in return for commissariat service or supply of provisions to religious and charitable institutions; and other kinds of Inam or Service tenures too numerous to catalogue. The main feature of the system was the recognition of these tenures.

Rama Aiyar inaugurated a commercial department and made Mavelikara its centre. He opened *Pantakasalas* or bankshalls at Trivandrum, Quilon, Mavelikara and Moovattupuzha. These stores were stocked with pepper, areca, ginger, spices, etc., for the production of which the country was so admirably suited and in the trade of which the Sirkar once held the monopoly. The chief office at Mavelikara accordingly took the name of *Mulakumadisseela* office and was held in the present Taluq cutcherry buildings. The stores were called *Thurams* and the vendors in charge, *Thurakars*, having a *Thuram-Chungam Melvicharipu* (or Superintendent) over all the customs-houses established by him.

Commercial department

Thus Rama Aiyar raised revenue, kept order, administered justice, and extended the territory to what seemed its natural boundaries. He died in 931 M. E. (1756 A. D.) at his offiicial residence at Mavelikkara. He had nothing to call his own when he died. Such stern probity in an age that was venal will ever stand out to his honour and glory.

The passing of Dalava Rama Aiyar

Rama Aiyar's death cast a gloom from which the king never recovered. In a couple of years the great king followed his great minister to the grave. "Martanda Varma was one of those whom the world produced but at rare intervals. He was born to command and conquer. With such a minister as Rama Aiyar as his right

The Raja's last words

hand and with a strong will, abiding patience and indomitable courage, the Rajah not only won back what his predecessors had lost, but subjugated one after another the neighbouring chiefs who were a perpetual source of trouble "* When he knew his end was drawing near, the great Raja called the heir-apparent to his side and conveyed to him the following advice :—" The friendship existing between the English East India Company and Travancore should be maintained at any risk and full confidence should always be placed in the support and aid of the honourable association."

He was a patron of letters : there was a fine harvest of fine writing in Malayalam—the finest by the great poet Kunchan Nambiar. Devaraja Sastri was the court bard who wrote the Sanskrit play *Balamartandavijaya* or the triumph of the great Maharaja.

Martanda Varma's conquests spelt no downfall of the Nair power. It was only purged of its factious elements. This gave it real strength to withstand the inroads of Hyder and Tippu in the next reign under the lead of Raja Kesava Das.

Note. In this reign the two coronation ceremonies of *Hiranya Garbham* and *Tulapursha Danam* were inaugurated and two princesses from the Chirakkal House were adopted into the royal family.

* *The Calcutta Review* for April 1884.

CHAPTER VIII

KARTIKA TIRUNAL MAHARAJA RAMA VARMA (1758-1798)

Rama Varma, the prince once saved from the clutches of the Ettuveetil Pillamars at Attangal by the heroic bravery of the Kilmanur Koil Tampuran, was the son of the princess adopted during the time of Raja Unni Kerala Varma. He was a remarkable ruler, like his heroic uncle. He lived to a good old age and was therefore called "Kizhavan" Raja. He swerved not from the path of duty (Dharma) and was on that account known as Dharma Raja. He was a great Raja and history distinguishes him as Rama Varma the Great. He was a steadfast ally of the British Government.

Dalava Martanda Pillai (1758-1763)

The Travancore treaty with the Dutch and with Cochin curbed the authority of both. They were the sworn foes of the Zamorin who turned his attention to them. By this time the Zamorin had overcome the Raja of Valluvanad and Palghat. He marched on to Chetwa and drove off the Dutch from their out-posts. He prepared to invade Cochin. But the Dutch under the treaty could not come to his help. So they joined their enemy, the Zamorin. Cochin was supported by the Anji Kaimal alone. But she could not maintain her position. The Raja applied to the Travancore Maharaja for help. He despatched an army under his new minister Dalava Martanda Pillai. The minister took

Delannoy too with him. They marched in two divisions. Martanda Pillai put the Zamorin's forces to flight at Mapranam and pursued them to Trichur. The Travancore army attacked the Zamorin's army from one side and the Cochin forces from the other. Meanwhile Delannoy's forces drove out his army from Cranganore. The Cochin Raja ceded Alengad and Parur to Travancore. He gave the jaghir of Puthanchira to Dalava Martanda Pillai who, however, made it over to his sovereign master. The Travancore army withdrew in 1764.

Administrative Improvements

Dalava Martanda Pillai next turned his attention to the improvement of the administration. The State was cut up into three mukkams—Thekke mukkam (south), Vadakke mukkam (north) and Padinjare mukkam (west) each under an officer designated *Valiasarvadhikaryakar*. In other respects, Dalava Rama Aiyar's system remained unchanged. Under the Valiasarvadhikaryakar were *Sarvadhikaryakars* in charge of divisions; under these were the *Karyakars* in charge of Taluqs; under them *Proverthikars* in charge of proverthies; and under them a chain of menial officers called Chandrakars, Thurakars, and Velkars. There was a chain of clerks from the Thirumukhom Pidicha Pillai to Pillamars or ordinary clerks.

The Dalava erected a palace and fort at Krishnapuram. He improved Central Travancore with Quilon as the centre. He reclaimed waste-lands east of the Nindakara bar; colonised it with people; and called the place Dalavapuram. He opened roads and rest-houses between Kunnathunad and Thottapally. He built the Varkala

Gramam and made a free gift of it to the Brahmins. He then completed the Kulesekhara Mantapam at Trivandrum.

Dalava Subbier (1763-68)

Dalava Martanda Pillai died soon after: he was succeeded in 1763 by Varkala Subbier, in whose ability and integrity the ruler had great confidence. The Dalakartham or the duties appertaining to the office of Dalava comprised both military and civil functions.

Enforcement of the Cochin treaty

The first thing Dalava Subbier did was to enforce the terms of the treaty about the cession of Parur and Alangad to Travancore by the Cochin Raja. The Alangad Raja had already surrendered his districts by a deed executed by him during the time of Dalava Martanda Pillai. Subbier obtained a similar deed from the Parur chief in token of surrender. The territory of Karoor Swarupam came to be ceded. Its queen was unable to fulfil the terms of her engagement with Travancore. Thus were the frontier dominions settled, and Travancore laws introduced into them.

Northern frontier

In 1766 Subbier fixed the boundary of the northern frontier and fortified it with extensive military lines as a further protection from the possible inroads of Hyder Ali whose power and schemes of conquest were growing day by day. The Nedumkotta military lines in the north were completed by the combined efforts of Delannoy and Dalava Subbier. They formed a fitting supplement to the Aramboli frontier fortifications in the south built by the great Dalava Rama Aiyar in the previous reign for the

complete defence of the country, Hence the Raja was in a position to challenge the threatened invasion of Hyder. It was, however, delayed and deterred by the opposition of the Dutch and by his own campaigns in the east coast.

Dalava Subbier next turned his attention to the southern frontier. Muhammad Ali asserted in 1764 his right over the twelve districts around Kalakaud. Travancore got possession of these as a recompense for the help rendered by the Travancore army to Isoof Khan in quelling the Maphuse-Polygar rebellion. Travancore approached the English factors at Anjengo to intercede. Thereupon the Madras Government deputed Call, an engineer of the Company, to arbitrate. The result was the issue of a *Cowle Nama* by Walajah Anwaruddin Khan in 1180 A. H. (1766 A. D.) By this the villages of Shencottah and Cape Comorin were made over to Travancore on payment of a Peishkush. This was in compensation for the surrender of Kalakaud to the Nawab.

Southern frontier

In return for their services, several agreements were made between the Anjengo factors and the Maharaja for bartering pepper for arms. The Company was permitted to put up a factory at Varapuzhai and a flagstaff at Vilinjam. The loss of Kalakaud was made up for by the gain of Shencottah. The worst that could be said was that Travancore made the best of a bad bargian.

Dalava Subbier's administrative activities were no less remarkable. The celebrated *Chattavariola* or

Code, prepared and promulgated by him in 942 M. E. (1767 A. D.), was a fitting sequel to the revenue reforms of his distinguished predecessors. Dalava Rama Aiyar applied the Viruthi institutions of the land to ecclesiastical purposes. It was a modification of a former feudal system. Subbier turned it to military commissariat service. The militia was called out, trained and kept ready against Hyder's attack at any moment. Subbier left the military sons of the soil heirs for ever of the service lands bestowed on them in return for their patriotic service. The result of his wisely-devised scheme was that everybody had the hope of owning a home. Varkala-Dalavapuram keeps his memory green as Nindakara-Dalavapuram does that of his predecessor, Dalava Martanda Pillai.

Rural Reconstruction.

On Dalava Subbier's death in 943 M.E. (1768 A.D.) Krishna Iyen Gopala Iyen succeeded him and held the office of Dalava for twelve years. He was not much of a military man. He could barely cope with Dalakartham (military functions). Hence, Commandant Tampi Chempakaraman Pillai became Deputy Dalava with the sole charge of the army. He died in a couple of years; and so, Mallan Chempakaraman Pillai came to occupy that position. Gopala Iyen was an experienced revenue officer. He made a survey of all cultivated lands. It was a *Kettezhuthu* or a hearsay record of information gathered by personal conference with the holders of land.

A land-mark in land law

On the death of Gopala Iyen in 955 M.E., Mallan Chempakaraman Pillai succeeded him but he died

within a year of his appointment as Dalava; and Vadiveeswaram Subramonia Iyer, the next Dalava, likewise failed to survive a year. Nagercoil Rama Iyen who succeeded him held the office for six years (957-963 M.E.) It was during his time that the ruler went to Rameswaram to consign the royal remains of his mother into the holy waters of Darbhasayanam. The scheme of the Kodayar dam was first conceived by him.

A train of minor Dalavas

It was then that Raman Kesavan who distinguished himself as the great Raja Kesava Das became Dalava. He did not relish this old title. He considered it too obsolete and out-worn for his times. He preferred the Moghul designation of Dewan. He became the first Dewan—first not merely in the new name but in true fame as well.

Raja Kesava Das (1789-1799)—The first Dewan

In 1773, Hyder, with a large force under Commander Srinivasa Row, descended upon Malabar. The Dutch had no scruples to throw over their allies of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. They joined hands with Mysore. They cared less for their credit and more for their advantage in money and trade. Hyder told them that he would not trouble Travancore and Cochin if these two States would agree to share the expenses of his wars of aggression. He knew that Travancore was in alliance with the English but he was aware that the English had yet to establish their political power. He was himself out to break it if possible. He was extending his conquests. He had already overrun Chirakkal and Calicut. He demanded from Travancore and

Cochin a large sum if they cared for safety from his inroads. They agreed if Hyder could restore the northern States to power. This Hyder would not. So he threatened to invade Travancore and Cochin. The latter yielded and agreed to pay tribute for his protection. But Rama Varma of Travancore held out and sought the aid of the English. Meanwhile Hyder became engaged in a struggle with the English, the Nizam and the Marathas. He was foiled and forced into the treaty of 1769 in which the English made provision for the protection of Travancore.

Regardless of this he set out against Travancore in 1776. The Dutch changed sides and leaned towards Travancore. They refused Hyder a passage for his army through their fort at Cranganore. Hyder's general, Sirdar Khan, forced a way through Cochin. But the Travancore lines were strong and successfully stood out against the enemy's further advance. The Dutch then advised a coalition of Travancore and Cochin with them against Hyder. Travancore rightly refused to be a party to it. In Hyder's war with the English, Travancore fought side by side with them. Dewan Kesava Das was a good warrior and statesman. He led the Travancore army and fought side by side with the English at Palghat, Calicut and Tinnevelly in their wars with Hyder Ali Khan. In appreciation of this, the Travancore Raja came to be expressly included in the treaty of Mangalore (1784) as the Company's friend and ally "whose interests and welfare will always be considered and protected as our own." The Company never forgot the fidelity and steady friendship and attachment he had uniformly shown them in every

situation and under every change of fortune. It was a guarantee of defence against Tippu's direct inroad.

Frontier reinforced

Tippu succeeded his father in 1784. True to his declaration that he would rather live two days as a tiger than two hundred years as a sheep, Tippu was anxious to get possession of the west coast. This would enable him to import munitions of war and attack the English on two sides. The forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta were key-positions. These forts belonged to the Dutch East India Company. Tippu had overrun Malabar and Cochin. In anticipation of war, Kesava Das opened negotiations with the Dutch and purchased the military outposts of Cranganore and Ayacotta with the cannon and ordnance and powder magazine for a consideration of 3,00,000 Surat Rupees. He extended the Travancore lines up to these out-posts. This he did in consultation with Major Bannerman who had been sent by the Madras Government on their being apprised of the grave situation in Travancore. At his instance, two battalions of the British force came to be quartered at the frontier out-posts. The Raja agreed to defray the cost of the troops, either in money or its equivalent value in pepper, while the Company agreed to recruit additional forces at their own cost.

Tippu at the gate

These preparations gave Tippu an immediate pretext to commence hostilities. He demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Cranganore, the demolition of the lines that encroached on Cochin; and the surrender of the sheltered fugitives. Not one of these things was Travancore prepared to do; and the incensed Tippu

marched to the border with a large army. It was, however, resisted by the Parur battalion. He then summoned his heaviest artillery from Seringapatam. Meanwhile Dewan Kesava Das applied for British help and made a stirring call to arms among his people. The Travancore army fought well; and under its well-directed fire, Tippu's advancing army was thrown into a panic; and in his confusion and retreat the Sultan slipped down twice and got crippled for ever.

Tippu's retreat and revenge

Meanwhile Tippu's army commanded by Lal Khan renewed the attack and poured upon the border-lines which were stormed and eventually pulled down and razed to the ground. At this juncture, Lord Cornwallis declared war against Tippu and the combined forces of the English, the Nizam and the Marathas were preparing to march against Seringapatam. It became imperative for Tippu therefore to run back to his capital. Unable to strike a blow against the combined forces, he, in his helpless situation, sued for peace; and the treaty of Seringapatam was concluded. By this treaty, he agreed to cede one half of his dominions to the Company. Just to spite Travancore and to break up the Raja's alliance with the Company, he included in the ceded tracts the three Travancore Districts of Alangad, Parur, and Kunnathunad for which he had no title. Dewan Kesava Das explained the situation to Lord Cornwallis and the matter was adjudicated by the Page-Bodham Commission appointed for the purpose. The verdict of the Commission was favourable to Travancore. Travancore got back the possession of the tracts

which Tippu had ingeniously dragged into the arbitration court. Dewan Kesava Das had also the honour of being asked to re-instate, in their respective territories, the princes and chiefs of Malabar who had fled into Travancore.

Poll-tax and post-war indemnity

To him belonged the credit of the political treaty relationship with the East India Company. After the close of the war, the defrayal of expenses came up for consideration; and the Company demanded the whole expenses of the war. The demand was exorbitant but Dewan Kesava Das advised acquiescence. There were, however, many difficulties. Ordinary public revenue could not meet this drastic demand. Kesava Das had therefore recourse to a war-tax, an extraordinary impost levied on landed properties. This was limited to one year. He preferred a heavy tax for a short period to a light one for a long period. The tax was on capital and not on income. But even this extraordinary taxation failed to answer the incessant call for funds. The Maharaja saw no alternative but that of raising loans. Funds were indeed thus obtained to meet the pressing emergencies of the State.

Subsidiary alliance

For external protection, a permanent treaty was thought indispensable and thus the treaty of 1795 came to be entered into. It was ratified by the Court of Directors only in 1797. By this treaty the Districts unjustly claimed by Tippu as his own and improperly assigned to the Company as war-indemnity were restored to Travancere; the Company engaged to protect Travancore from all foreign invasion, and in

return the Raja bound himself to defray annually the cost of maintaining three battalions of sepoys, a company of European artillery and two companies of lascars; to enter into engagements with no other European nation without the consent of the East India Company; and to assist the latter in their wars with his troops at the Company's cost. It contained also several commercial stipulations. This was the treaty that freed the State from all anxiety on account of foreign foes.

Administrative improvements

In spite of political distractions, Dewan Kesava Das found time to strengthen the foundations of civil government. Prolonged military operations had caused a terrible drain on the exchequer. This restricted the scope for improvement in internal administration and yet he did much. He gave a fresh impetus to trade. He improved North Travancore with Alleppey as centre. New ports were opened—Alleppey, Vilinjam and Colachel. Alleppey was made a commercial town and merchants from Sind and Cutch were given every facility to colonise and carry on trade there. Likewise Kottar was made a weaving centre and colonies of weavers from Tinnevelly and Madura were drawn to it. The Chalai Bazaar was opened at Trivandrum. Ship-building was commenced and timber collected on a large scale in the forest depot at Alleppey. In appreciation of his services a Jaghir was offered which he however made over to the State. It was in recognition of his ability and prudence as well as his firm attachment to the interests of the Company, that Lord Mornington conferred on him the title of "Rai." He became Rai or Raja Kesava Das.

The Maharaja re-dedicated the State to Sri Padmanabha in further ratification of his predecessor's great act of State. This was a conspicuous proof of his piety and God-guided justice. They called him Rama Raja the Great or Dharma Raja the Just, by which he is still remembered from end to end of India.

He rescued a weak neighbour—Cochin; he restrained a rival power (Cochin's aggressor)—Calicut; he established healthy relations among the three States—Travancore, Cochin and Calicut. Martanda Varma conquered all the eighteen States between Attangal and Cochin and would have continued further north, had he lived. Rama Varma too was of a like mind and would have continued the conquests but for the volcanic eruption of Hyder and Tippu.

Rama Varma lived to a great age—74. He was a gifted scholar and patron of literature. Amidst his wars he found time to write six plays in Malayalam and a great poem in Sanskrit—*Balarama Bharatam*. He knew Portuguese and English and had a grammar of both prepared for his use by Father Paulinus. He died in a halo of political and literary glory. His endowment of the Kakur Estate purchased from the Raja of Ramnad for the maintenance of charities at Tirupullani (Darbhasayanam) is a lasting memento of his vast sense of Dharma.

CHAPTER IX

AVITTAM TIRUNAL RAMA VARMA

(1798–1810)

The new ruler bore his uncle's name. He was only sixteen years old when he came to the throne. His uncle foresaw the evils incidental to youth. So before his death he called his nephew and heir and counselled him strongly to stick to two things—adhesion to the British alliance and adhesion to the guidance and advice of Raja Kesava Das. But the young Raja began his reign badly. His first act was to dismiss Raja Kesava Das—a step that deprived the State of the services of a sound statesman at its helm, and was ruinous to his own and the country's cause. The young king committed all his cares to wicked favourites among whom were three persons who had assisted in the raising of loans during the late reign. A Nambudiri, Jayanthan by name, was the chief of them. He was a friend of Cochin. He wanted the money back. The Raja had none. So he got from the Raja a document by which the Raja agreed to cede the Taluq of Shertala to the Cochin Raja. This the Nambudiri instigated the Raja to do with two objects—one to help his friend, the Cochin Raja; the other, to help himself with the large amount due to him which he had hoped to recover from his Cochin friend. But there was the veteran Dewan Kesava Das. He got scent of this and prevented the evil transaction by forcing back the signed deed from the hands of the Nambudiri. Enraged at this incident the Nambudiri

worked up the Raja to remove Raja Kesava Das—just the thing his uncle had strongly warned him against. Kesava Das met with sudden death in which the Nambudiri was suspected of having had a hand.

The Nambudiri easily became the next Dewan. He took into his cabinet two others—Thuckalay Sankara Narayana Chetty (Financial Minister) and Contractor Mathoo Tharakan (Councillor). This Cabinet was the outcome of financial obligations incurred towards war indemnity. They knew not how to manage public revenue or to conduct public affairs. The Court of Directors looked upon them as "the triumvirate of ignorance, profligacy and rapacity." No wonder, things hastened to a perilous crisis.

Collapse of the Cabinet

The new cabinet renewed the poll-tax and imposed other heavy taxes. Under the pretence of recovering old residues they began to extort money from the people. The old imposts were revived; and new taxes were imposed; the people felt the oppression intolerable. They rose in a body. This was the insurrection of 1799. It was led by Velu Tampi—the Hampden of Travancore. He was a Karyakar or Tahsildar. He failed to fall in with the policy of Raja Kesava Das. He had therefore gone into premature retirement. The foolish Cabinet marked him out as the first victim of their rapacity. Under his heroic lead, the insurgents took up arms; he conducted them to the capital; drove terror into the heart of the king; and raised a loud cry for vengeance. Thereupon the king quietly yielded and gave up the Cabinet to their rude revenge. The Dalava was dismissed and deported; his ministerial

mentors were sacked and their ears cut off; they were whipped in public and shut up in prison from which however they made good their escape. Conscious nationality may be said to date from the dramatic dissolution of this short-lived Cabinet.

It was followed by the Dalavaships of Aiyappan Chempakaraman of Chirayinkil and Padmanabhan Chempakaraman of Parassala whose respective periods of office were of even shorter duration. The latter was given the sack for plotting against Velu Tampi.

Velu Tampi becomes Dalava

At this juncture the office of Resident was created. The first to hold the office was Col. Macaulay, uncle of Lord Macaulay, the historian, and brother of Zachary Macaulay, the philanthropist. He presided over the political affairs of Travancore and Cochin for ten years from 1800. He was also in charge of the military command of Tinnevelly and as such had much to do with the suppression of the Polygar insurrection. During the first one or two years he was engaged in Sivaganga, Ramnad and other places. Velu Tampi who had been impatiently biding his time to pounce upon the office of Dalava accomplished his object in two ways. By his heroic leadership he had already got into the favour of Macaulay He strengthened it by representing to him the power of the Raja and his favourites as a danger. He gained over the Raja and his favourites by presenting to them the power of Macaulay as a dread. Charges were trumped up against General Kumaran Tampi and Peishkar Erayimman Tampi—both kinsmen of Kesava Das and rivals to Velu Tampi. They were arrested for treason and executed at the Nariyadichan fort (to the

south of and not far distant from the Western Fort Gate, Trivandrum), since then closed. Sthanapathi Subbier too fell a timely victim to snake-bite at Alleppey whither he had been summoned for different business. The coast became clear for the immediate march of Velu Tampi to the ministerial portfolio. According to the Court of Directors "The Raja appointed a new Dewan—Velu Tampi. This person had been at the head of the insurrection of 1799; but being reputed as a man of ability the Resident in the great want of persons of that description approved his appointment." It was during his time the Dewan's pay was fixed at Rs. 2,000 per mensem—the average actual expense of Dewans who had no fixed pay before his time, but had to meet all their expenses from the treasury.

His reforms

Velu Tampi caused a land assessment to be made in 1802. It was the second settlement of the kind; but unlike the first one this was a record of *Kandezhuthu* or what was seen and not a *Kettezhuthu* or hearsay.

He issued a *chattavariola* or Revenue Code in 1803. It lifted the State from the confusion and laxity into which it had fallen. It introduced better relationship between the lower ranks (*Sekharippu*) and the *Valia Sekharippu* (the higher ranks of the service). His system of *Nalvazhi* (or day account collection) for demand, collections and balance was the fore-runner of the modern feature of revenue administration—both in respect of paddy and money. The double-lock-system as between accountants and Chandrakars was introduced. The Chandrakars were put in charge of granaries and cash chests; and Munnilakars in charge of Proverthy

chavadees. Both were given free quarters to live in. Poll-tax was assessed once in six years; and a nominal roll of *thurams* (customs duties) was prepared every year.

He followed Kesava Das in developing the commercial side; he improved Central Travancore with Quilon as centre and opened the road from Quilon to Shencotta; he built the Quilon temple, as well as the Quilon Public offices. He raised Quilon to the commercial importance to which Kesava Das had raised Alleppey. He opened markets at Changanacherry, Vaikom and other places; opened the Mambazhathura feeding house, and reclaimed the Pathiramanal island or the mysterious mound of midnight. The Trivandrum fort squares were formed by him and the old Durbar hall on the southern side and Karoovelapurai on the northern side were raised as adjuncts to the palace.

Velu Tampi was a patriot like Kesava Das. The latter built his distinction on the quality of diplomacy which could discern and distinguish his country's weakness from the Company's strength. The former leagued with Cochin and deceived himself against that strength and wrought his destruction. Velu Tampi was an able and energetic minister but the key-note of his policy was cruelty and vindictiveness. The extreme severity of his punishments made his a sort of martial-law administration. He held with the hare and ran with the hounds.

Treaty revised

He had to face a great financial difficulty. The subsidly fell into arrears—a grave menace. To avoid it he attempted to retrench the Nayar troops. He reduced their strength and military allowances. They mutinied in a body and rose against him. British troops intervened. Troops

came from Tinnevelly and put down the insurrection in 1804.

Great political complications followed on its heels. In view of the internal commotion Lord Mornington saw the need for revising the treaty. The treaty concluded in 1795, he said, did not contain any stipulation for the aid of the British power for quelling such internal commotions. He accordingly set himself to modify the treaty. He advised the permanent stationing in Travancore of the British subsidiary force. This he considered essential both for the restoration of the Raja's authority and for the preservation of British influence. Hence the treaty of 1805 was concluded.

In view of insurrectionary factions, Velu Tampi looked upon the new treaty as indispensable for the safety of the State and signed it on behalf of the ruler. But when in spite of the moratorium granted for payment in four instalments the arrears of subsidy remained undischarged, Col. Macaulay began to apply extraordinary pressure. The Resident's suggestion to disband the Carnatic Brigade as a means of large savings was discarded. To recoup revenue, Velu Tampi sought the assumption of temples. It was vetoed by the Raja. He then resorted to summary confiscations for recovery of longstanding arrears of land revenue. This was violently opposed by Col. Macaulay in the case of a Syrian merchant, Mathu Marakan. The quarrel became personal.

Velu Tampi looked on this as the ruin of the country and raised the standard of revolt. Between Macaulay and Velu Tampi each hated the other as the scourge

of the country and as his own foe and they had to settle accounts between themselves.

A dark episode

Velu Tampi, the sworn child of revolt, organised an insurrection to murder Macaulay and to subvert the English power. He then issued his well-known Kundara Proclamation.

Cochin too fell in with this plot. Things there also ran in parallel lines. That State too was in the hands of a weak ruler. His minister, Paliyath Achan, had usurped the Raja's authority and begun to do things with a high hand. He had marked out for his victim a young man of promise, one Kunjukrishna Menon, whom the Resident had taken into his protection against the Dewan's designs. The Resident's refusal to surrender his young ward engendered Achan's mortal enmity to the Resident. The Achan vowed vengeance and readily fell in with the plot of Velu Tampi in whom he found a fit confederate. Velu Tampi sought the co-operation of the Zamorin too. True to the British power, the latter divulged the former's design to the Collector of Malabar. Thereupon Macaulay insisted upon the dismissal of Velu Tampi.

Meanwhile Velu Tampi excited a popular ferment in league with Cochin and made his murderous attack on the Cochin Residency at first, but failed in his attempt there; he made his second attack on the British garrison at Quilon.

A fatal tip-over

In the interval of this bloody campaign, he perpetrated a wholesale massacre of Europeans., Wilson in his *History of India* thus refers to the massacre: "About the same time, a small vessel with some of the soldiers of the 12th Regiment on board having touched

at Alleppey for supplies, the men were induced to land, by the appearance of cordiality among the people and the assurance that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced the men disembarked, and, as soon as they landed, were made prisoners and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by the order of the Dewan who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince." This inhuman act of Velu Tampi aroused the British Government to a sense of righteous indignation. The British troops which had saved Travancore from subjection to the power of Tippu and which had never set foot on its soil save in its defence, now poured in. Col. Cuppage commanding the British force in Malabar came down to the northern frontier. Col. St. Ledger at the head of two regiments came down to the southern frontier at Aramboli; Lt.-Col. Morrie hastened to the eastern frontiert hrough the Ariankavu Pass. At the battle of Oluginaseri Col. St. Ledger defeated Velu Tampi's army led by Captain B. Hoogewerfe; Col. Welsh advanced to Padmanabhapuram after an engagement at the foot of Veli Malai; to Col. St. Ledger, the Raja sued for peace; an armistice was proclaimed; Col. St. Ledger marched to Trivandrum and encamped at Pappanencode. The Raja sent Ummini Tampi with a disclaimer. The alarmed Raja's candid disclaimer of the insurgents, his promise to defray the expenses of the military expedition and his piteous plea for protection—immediately followed by the suicide of the dangerous Dalava—restored friendly relations with the British Government.

Treaty ratified. Ummini Tampi (1809-11)

It was with British influence that Martandan Eravi (generally known as Ummini Tampi) became Dalava. The Company bestowed on him the title of Raya Raya.

The first event of political importance after his becoming Dewan, was a ratification of the treaty of 1805. The Resident, the Raja and the Dalava met and confirmed the new treaty by which the Raja agreed to pay all arrears of subsidy according to the terms of the treaties of 1795 and 1805, in addition to the expenses of the war; to disband the Carnatic Brigade; and to depend, for the defence of the country, on the British subsidiary force cantoned at Trivandrum and Quilon.*

Ummini Tampi restricted the rights of popular assemblies in Nanjanad and grew unpopular. He did much to improve the revenue. He reclaimed the forest of Unthikad; opened bazaars; constructed store-houses. He improved South Travancore with Balaramapuram as a weaving centre. He made Vilinjam a port. In spite of all that, he let the administration fall into a most disorganised state by his re-imposition and recovery of the extravagant imposts of old. The people got exasperated and refused payment. Thus the subsidy fell into arrears almost amounting to one year's revenue of the State. The Dewan complained against the Raja to the Resident and the Resident complained against the Raja to the British Government. The Raja wanted to celebrate the Murajapom ceremony, the significance of which has

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* *Vide* Appendix A for the terms of the treaty of 1805 which is still in force.

been dealt with already. The Resident would not allow it. Ummini Tampi carried it out in deference to the wishes of his sovereign.

A grave crisis

In this state of affairs, Macaulay was recalled and things worked themselves into a crisis. Macaulay's place was taken by Col. (then Major) Munro. Non-payment of arrears of subsidy evoked the threat of the paramount power to assume the direct management of the country. The understanding between the Maharaja and the Dewan was anything but cordial and it was embittered by the intrigues of a young prince, a member of the Mavelikara family. The young prince of Mavelikara was a favourite of the Maharaja and he passed with the title of Elaya Raja though in fact he was not the heir-apparent. His antecedents were far from irreproachable. He had been suspected of playing second fiddle to Velu Tampi in the rebellion raised by him.

There was none to succeed the Raja save the Rani. Her right of succession was closely contested by the Prince of Mavelikara. It was at this critical juncture that Col. Munro became the accredited representative of the paramount power.

CHAPTER X

TRAVANCORE IN TRANSITION

(A) Regency of Rani Lakshmi Bai (1811-15)

The nineteenth century marked the dawn of a new era with the commencement of Col. Munro's regime, just in the same way as the eighteenth century rang in a new epoch with the beginning of Martanda Varma's reign. Col. Munro's first great act was to dismiss the claims of the pretender-prince of Mavelikara and to recognise the Rani as the rightful ruler. With the approval of the British Government, he installed the queen on the throne of her ancestors. On the charge of having formed a plot to upset the throne, he placed the disappointed prince under surveillance. The latter showed signs of disaffection. He was then hauled off first to Tellicherry and then to Chinglepat as a state-prisoner.

Minto's political experiment

On her accession to the throne, the sagacious queen dispensed with the services of Dewan Ummini Tampi. He had proved disloyal to her uncle. The latter part of his administration had brought the country to the verge of ruin. In view of the disordered state of the country, she placed complete confidence in the protection of the paramount power. She sought the help of the Resident whom she regarded as her brother and whose actions, she was convinced, would always be "for the good of herself and her people." Col. Munro found no one fit to conduct the administration. He wrote :—

"The history of transactions in Travancore for the last ten years would not admit of my placing much confidence in the conduct of any Dewan that might be nominated to office, for of two Dewans appointed by the British influence during that period of time, one was guilty of open rebellion against its authority and the other of numerous instances of mismanagement and oppression." Accordingly Munro recommended the discontinuance of the office of Dewan and the superintendence of the administration by the Resident. This view found favour with Lord Minto. In order to lift the State from the depths of declension into which it had fallen, the British Government directed Col. Munro to assume the duties of the Dewan, in addition to his own as British Resident. This was in 1811. This policy of co-operation in a new direction was a highly-valued concession of great historical importance. It was a half-way house between the policy of annexation, (the danger of which was the ruin of native sovereignty) and the policy of direct administration for a time, (the danger of which was the gap in continuous native rule).

Deportation of a Dalava

In Munro as the supreme head of affairs the dis-employed Dewan Ummini Tampi saw red—a political design to annex the country and a personal motive to reduce him to nothing. He carried on a series of low intrigues. As observed by Col. Munro, "his behaviour towards the Raja (late) was harsh and vindictive; his management of the country was irregular and oppressive; and his conduct to the Resident (late) exhibited a system of deception and counter-action. He was particularly obnoxious to the Ranee and his continuance

in office would therefore be unfavourable to the attainment of close and cordial union between the States (Travancore and British Government)." It was in pursuance of the new political experiment embarked on by Lord Minto, that the Madras Government acquiesced in the temporary abolition of the office of Dewan. When accordingly Ummini Tampi lost his office, he was enraged and grew factious. He was interned at Quilon; it was there he became an accomplice of the Palasi Raja of Malabar in the latter's plot to oust the Rani and the Resident and to become the ruler of Travancore himself. The result was his deportation as a state-prisoner to Chingleput.

The Munro regime

Col. Munro had, at the outset of his administration, to contend with three main difficulties apparently irreconcilable and amounting to almost an impossibility. With the dead weight of the State debt which, including the arrears of subsidy, had gone beyond the average annual revenue, hanging heavily on him, he had on the one hand, to discharge his obligation to the Rani by maintaining her dignity and authority consistent with progressive rule. This could be done only by increased revenue. He had, on the other hand, to conciliate the people by the abolition of obnoxious imposts and other burdens which pressed heavily on them. This meant an obvious fall in the revenue. Two or three simple facts furnish the key to Munro's success in overcoming these difficulties. With the clear vision of a statesman, he perceived at once that the confusion and corruption in which the country had been steeped, arose from the bad and oppressive mixture of civil, military and judicial

functions in the Karyakars. Under a weak rule such a system easily became the hot-bed of political commotion, official mismanagement and popular discontent. He accordingly split up the combination and recast the administrative machinery on the model of the British system.

On the ashes of the judicial and military powers exercised by the Karyakars of older times, Munro raised an efficient corps of the police for detection of crimes and preservation of order. He created a separate judicial branch for the proper administration of justice.

Civil governance

The new court was called the Huzur Court; and the old Huzur Court was named the Appeal Court to dispose of appeals and references.

The elements of responsibility were then fixed on the constitution; he added a code of revenue laws and civil regulations and enforced sanction and discipline. This effectively put down the abuses to which the old system had been open; it secured also a free flow of revenue which mismanagement and corruption had arrested before.

After placing the administration on a sound basis, Munro turned to do something for the people. They groaned under several taxes, at once heavy and unjust. These were abolished at one stroke of the pen. There were heaps of longstanding arrears including war tax which they could not pay. These were written off. The loss of revenue was deemed more than made up for by the popular discontent it served to remove.

Abolition of arbitrary tolls

Munro resorted to many measures to recoup the State revenue. The most important of these was the assumption of temples. As many as 348 big ones and 1171 small ones with their properties were taken under State control. These properties were extensive but intensively made loot of by their managers. The object of the assumption was two-fold. For one thing it saved the temples from pillage. For another it replenished the State exchequer. In 1809 the land revenue was less than eight lakhs of rupees. In 1813, *i.e.*, after the assumption it mounted to over fifteen lakhs. But the most relieving feature of the assumption lay in the guarantee to keep the temples with their *Pathuvu* or fixed allotment in tact. In this momentous act he persuaded himself to be guided by the informed views of a mixed committee of ten persons—six officials and four non-officials. Out of these, four were non-Brahmins—Sankaranarayana Pillay, Iyappan Pillay, Parappankutty and Dewan Padmanabhan; four were Malayala Brahmins—Koovakara, Athiyara, Thazhamon, and Kalpagamangalam Pottis; and two, Tamil Brahmins—Toppa Sastri and Nanjappayyar.

A momentous measure

He further increased the land revenue by conducting a revised land settlement. It was a valuation of garden lands alone for purposes of tax. This did the people good in another way. Their possession of land had not much of assurance before. To strengthen possession, writs called *Pattayams* were issued to the ryots. These writs were on stamped cadjans. The total revenue of the State income went up by leaps and bounds to thirty-four lakhs

A record revenue

including subsidies from Pantalam, Cochin and Edapally. Munro made many cuts. He received no salary. It is a remarkable fact that even the Rani made a cut in her privy purse down to Rs. 500.

Munro found extensive bribery and extortion to prevail. To put them down he even flogged the delinquents in public. The accounts were in hopeless confusion. To set things right he formed a separate department for the control of accounts and finance. He opened the Maratha efficiency system and worked it on the lines of the Collector's Cutcherry in British India. The system of accounts was then kept everywhere in the Maarathi script. Thus the Marathas were brought in as functionaries, but they became favourites afterwards.

The whole organisation went under the name of *jamabandy* system. It was placed under the control of two officers — *Valiamelezhuthu* and *Melezhuthu*.

A home administrator again

Thus in less than four years, Munro brought in order; put down corruption; set up a new constitution; added to the revenue; and gave back the kingdom in complete peace and tranquillity for native administration. On Dewan Padmanabhan, Judge of the Appeal Court, who had made a name for himself as Valia Sarvadhikaryakar during Ummini Tampi's time, fell the mantle of the Dewan's office. But he died, however, within six months of his appointment.

The excellence of Munro's administrative acts which removed public wrongs was equalled only by the redress

of social injustice such as the abolition of slavery.

A noble Queen

With the happiness of this boon to her subjects and with the happiness of having given birth to two sons—one in 1813 and the other in 1814—Rani Lakshmi Bai passed away in 1814. She was a wise and noble queen. Orthodox she was, but liberal enough to break through *Mamool*; with strength and sense she gave up *gosha*; received Europeans in her own palace; and held public Darbars in it—an extraordinary thing in those days when orthodox customs of the palace precluded the male members from receiving Europeans save outside the fort in the palace, at the sea-beach or in the palace at the Singara Tope (Royal Park), while the curtain of *gosha* concealed the female members in their apartments from public view. She changed the social axle. Blessed with three children and with the blessings of her people she commended the eldest prince (an infant) to them in words full of fine feeling and worth quoting: "At the instance of Sree Padmanabha Swami, I have placed this child of mine on the bosom of the Company and the responsibility of the future support and respectable treatment of this Royal scion shall now rest with the Hon'ble Company."

(B) Regency of Rani Parvathi Bai (1815-1824)

It was during the minority of this prince, that his aunt, Parvathi Bai, ruled as Regent with marked ability for fifteen years, during the first five of which Col. Munro continued to be Resident. Even after the relinquishment of the ministerial office, Col. Munro indirectly guided the administration till his departure in 1819, so that

all benefits of good government till then could be traced to his continued counsel and control.

After the death of Dewan Padmanabhan, Bappu Rao, one of the two Maratha proteges of Col. Munro, carried on the administration till Subbien Sankaranarayana Iyen (generally known as Sanku Annavi) was appointed Dewan. He was deeply devoted to the Rani. She bestowed on him the local title of Kanaku Chempakaraman. As he was found unequal to his task, Narayanan Raman Menon, a Cochinite, who had held the place of Judge in the Huzur Court, was, at the instance of the Resident, put in place of Sanku Annavi. He was an able man. Col. Munro who set a high value on his ability entrusted him with the work of settling the temple lands. He did much good work. But he kicked against the pricks in dealing with the European Commercial Agent at Alleppey. Hence he had to retire too soon.

Janardhana Rao Venkita Rao *alias* Reddy Rao (1822-30)

Reddy Rao succeeded Raman Menon as Dewan. He did much good. His measures were relief measures. He freed the Christian holders of land from the burden of *Oozhiyam* or free service which they had to render in connection with the ceremonies in Hindu temples. He did away with the ban on the wearing of golden jewels by Nair women and silver ornaments by low caste Hindus. He lifted the burden of poll-tax which pressed heavily on Chettis and others who held temple lands on lease. He introduced the cultivation of coffee, which, later on during Sir T. Madhava Rao's time, was to become the rage of the day, responsible for the ruin of many a speculator.

Within a year of Reddy Rao's administration, Col. Munro retired. He took no pay for his office as Dewan. It was a labour of love. The Rani was anxious to requite his labour. He would take no reward for service. He was an ardent Christian. His was service in the name of the Lord. The Rani rightly understood that any benefaction to the Christian Missions would be after the Colonel's own heart. The Rani persuaded herself to grant lands. By three Royal Neets, lands were granted to the Protestant Missions in Travancore. The first was in the name of Rev. Ringle Taube (1814) for sixty-one *kottahs* or acres of rice fields near Tamarakulam. The second was in the name of Rev. C. Mead for the reduction of one hundred *kottahs* of paddy-tax to a nominal tax of one *kottah* and the accretion of paddy to the Mission funds for the relief of the poor. The third too was in the name of Rev. Mead for an additional patch of thirty-four *kottahs* of waste lands adjoining the Puthanar for conversion into productive paddy fields. The first of these was an educational endowment: and it was from its income, the first English Seminary, the nucleus of the present Scott Christian College, was established. Towards the maintenance of a similar institution at Kottayam opened by the Church Mission Society, the Rani made a generous grant of Rs. 20,000 (invested in landed property), besides another grant of Rs. 1,000 for erecting a chapel and furnishing the buildings of the college. The landed property is seven miles in circumference and goes by the name of Munro Island—now taken over by the State on compensation. The people have perpetuated Munro's memory by providing lights

Grants to the Mission

called "Munro Lights" at the dangerous creeks and crossings in the deep back-waters. If Macaulay let Travancore into the political system of the British protectorate, Munro brought it nearest to the administrative system prevailing in British territory. Truly therefore the Munro period was a period of transition.

Reddy Rao outrivalled

After Munro's departure Major MacDowall occupied the office of Resident. He too had brought with him one Venkita Rao as his interpreter and agent who soon took state-service as Dewan Peishkar. In that capacity, Venkita Rao did a lot to add to the pomp and pageantry of the temple ceremonies and military paraphernalia. This caught the fancy of the Rani into whose favour he gradually worked his way up. He was waiting for a suitable opportunity to pounce upon the Dewan's place. Princess Rukmini Bai's wedding came. Dewan Reddy Rao made it unprecedentedly grand. To mark her sense of appreciation, the Rani bestowed on him a Jaghir which consisted of two villages—Sambur and Vadagara. This was Venkita Rao's opportunity. He made the most of it in worsting his rival. Col. Newall, the new Resident, succeeded Major MacDowall in 1820 A. D. He knew very little of oriental custom or royal benefaction. No doubt he looked upon the gift of the estate as becoming the all too generous heart of the Rani; but he sternly looked upon its acceptance as all too unbecoming on the part of the Dewan in his official capacity. The latter was made to surrender the Jaghir. It was a humiliation too much for Reddy Rao to bear up with. Hence he resigned.

Venkita Rao realised the object of his ambition. He stepped into the Dewanship. He was a very clever man. He was well up in the Munro system which he followed in carrying on the administration. His first measure was a popular one. He remitted all arrears of tax and gave the ryots waste lands free to take up for cultivation. The Regent-Rani issued the Proclamation about it on the birthday of the little heir-apparent, as a token of her affection for the prince and of her solicitude for the welfare of her subjects. For the purpose of better revenue administration unwieldy taluqs were split up. Lands were made free of tax for four years. A system of rewards for the destruction of wild elephants was introduced to secure hill-cultivation against the ravages of these animals. The most important measure was the opening of the Trivandrum-Katinamkulam and the Parur-Ashtamudi canals which facilitated transport along waterways.

Venkita Rao's work

The holding of civil appointments by the Missionaries gave them a political importance in the country. But the Directors of the L. M. S. in England did not relish the idea of a Missionary holding both a church and a civil appointment, together. They drastically gave Rev. Mead his own choice of the one or the other. He relinquished office; felt a free hand; and took a leading part in the agitation of the Shanar-Christian converts for wearing upper cloth like the higher classes.

In the result the Rani issued a Royal Proclamation in 1829. It restored peace. The caste Shanars were to continue the old custom; while those who had

embraced Christianity were to wear *Coopayams* (jackets).

Rani's Proclamation

They were exempted from rendering services to the Sirkar on Sundays. The Christians were to act towards the higher classes according to usage as before their conversion. As a concession to her own sex the Rani exempted the high caste women from the duty of bearing torches during royal processions. The Proclamation was a first step towards removing social disabilities.

She lived a noble and happy life and enjoyed the confidence of Col. Munro. She had a strong will and a sweet reasonableness of her own. She did not always act as she was told. Often she brought him round to her view-point. The Colonel was in favour of certain princes in the north shifting their residence. She opposed and won. She was likewise against a German being given lands for tobacco cultivation. She stuck to her views. On one occasion she belled the cat and said that she was the queen and hers was the last word on the subject. The Colonel liked her all the more.

It is a remarkable fact that in the first quarter of the last century Travancore was ruled by two able Ranis both of whom alike stood for spread of education and social emancipation.

CHAPTER XI

SWATI TIRUNAL RAMA VARMA (1829—1847)

The regency of Rani Parvathi Bai came to a close in 1829, when Prince Rama Varma, the eldest son of her sister, Rani Lakshmi Bai, came of age. He was formally placed on the throne. The new king was an able ruler. It was at the outset of his reign that the Dewan shifted his head-quarters from Quilon to Trivandrum. The personal rule of sovereigns commenced with this reign. Transaction of State business took a new turn. Its chief feature was the personal and periodical reports by the Dewan and the chief officers of the State. The sovereign came in direct touch with the administration. He set on it the imprimatur of his hand and seal. For this purpose he was anxious to have a Dewan after his own heart. The choice naturally fell on his English tutor, Subba Rao, known as "English" Subba Rao. Col. Morrison who opposed it was recalled; Venkata Rao resigned; and Subba Rao stepped in.

As a parting shot Col. Morrison had sent up a report against the Raja that "the country which on his accession was in a most flourishing condition, was hastening to decline." For one thing, it brought about the first gubernatorial visit to Travancore. Lushington, the Governor of Madras, looked in purposely to see things for himself about the affairs of Travancore and test the mettle of its new young ruler. He found things all

Governor Lushington's Look in

right and returned well impressed with the prince's capacity to rule.

The reduction of the subsidiary force was an event of political importance in Subba Rao's time. For various reasons, the Court of Directors were not for keeping the full complement of the subsidiary force in Travancore. Accordingly the Madras Government called back the Company's forces stationed at the southern frontier. The force was reduced to one regiment and cantoned at Nagercoil, as a sufficient protection on the southern side.

Regiment reduced

But the Raja was given to show; he looked upon the reduction of the regiment as a lack in the dignity of an oriental court. Accordingly he set about improving the strength and sight of the State forces. They were supplied with fresh and blazing military costumes and trained by a British Commandant. Fresh horses were got down. Cavalry cavalcades were introduced. The Madhavalayam stables were shifted from Aramboly to Trivandrum. The Raja's troops were designated the "Nayar Brigade."

The Nayar Brigade

A golden car, after the classic design of Indra's vehicle, was made for processional purposes. It went far to add to regal pomp and splendour. The system of court Darbars started by his mother during the Regency also served the same purpose.

Hand in hand with his Tutor-Dewan, he turned to internal administration. He felt and acted the sovereign every inch in the old patriarchal way. The Hazur Cutcherry was constituted into a central authority. The Dewan held considerable executive

Combined Judicature

power over all the departments of Government. He was the Chief Magistrate and Police Officer. The judicial administration was made independent. A Chief Judge was placed at its head. Bhagavantha Rao from British India was the first to hold that office. Decisions involving death or transportation for life were, however, subject to the approval of the Raja and often open to the review of the Resident.

Land settlement

The land system is a complex variety of different tenures of land. It has no analogy to the theory of property elsewhere. Its disentanglement has been the main objective of all administrations down to the present day. For this important work the British Resident, Casamajor, who succeeded Col. Cadogan, got down one Cunden Menon—a revenue expert from Malabar. His settlement met the wants of Devaswoms and suited the pockets of the poor people.

Raja's Free School

Himself the first product of English education, the ruler was eager to open an English school at the capital. He prevailed on Rev. Roberts of the Mission Seminary at Nagercoil to go over to Trivandrum and open a school there in 1834. It was only a private school at first. It was soon taken over by Government and opened under the auspices of the new Resident, John Stuart Fraser, in 1835, as the Raja's "Free School" with which is associated the beginnings of English education under State control.

The Raja was devoted to science; and with the encouragement given by the new Resident, a few scientific

institutions were newly started. The Observatory was one of them. With Caldecott the idea originated. He was Commercial Agent at Alleppey; but his astronomical bias stood ahead of him. He became the first State astronomer.

The Observatory

The Charity Hospital was another institution in opening which the Raja took a deep interest. It was open to all patients and they were treated free. It was the first free medical institution in the State.

Charity Hospital

An Engineering Department was organised to introduce engineering of the right kind—the European scientific sort. The skilled service of a European Engineer was secured. He looked after the irrigation works too in Nanjanad.

The tranquillity of his reign was marred by the missionary agitation and by the Rao-rivalries for the Dewanship. The Resident's interference grew troublesome and vexatious. Dewans were made and unmade—now to conciliate the Resident, now to conciliate the Raja. Each successive Dewan dug the grave of his predecessor. Thus there were three Dewans in four years—Krishna Rao (1842-1843); Reddy Rao (1843-1845); Sreenivasa Rao (1845-1847).

Latter-day troubles

When the misunderstandings came to a head the Madras Government had to come in and act as peacemaker between the Resident and the Raja. It was only with Krishna Rao's appointment as Dewan that the last trace of the Resident's ill-feelings disappeared.

The Raja died in 1847. He was a great scholar and linguist. He had extraordinary talents and fine taste for the fine arts, which he much encouraged. He was a great poet and composed verses in Sanskrit, Malayalam, Telugu and Marathi. His immortal work in Sanskrit entitled "Bhakti Manjari" is a splendid devotional poem. He maintained a College of Pandits, Poets and Musicians of the day from different parts of India. Owing to political embitterment, he spent the latter part of his life in religious seclusion and his eminent piety manifested itself in the offering of a lakh of rupees as *Valia Kanikai* or great gift to the temple of Sri Padmanabha.

CHAPTER XII

UTHIRAM TIRUNAL MARTANDA VARMA

(1847—1860)

Rama Varma's brother, Martanda Varma, succeeded him. He was a well-educated ruler. As advised by his brother, the new ruler cultivated close friendship with the Resident and went the length of even addressing him as "Ammavan" or uncle. Their relations were cordial to the end.

An ivory throne at Windsor

Travancore had an opportunity to come within the European ambit for mark and distinction. The Maharaja evinced a deep interest in art; and a State department was organised for the purpose. This was the beginning of the School of Arts for which the State has a reputation. Specimens of ivory works were sent to various exhibitions. In 1831 the Maharaja contributed an ivory throne to the International Exhibition (London) inaugurated by the Prince-Consort. Queen Victoria to whom it was presented wrote an autograph letter to the Raja commending its exquisite workmanship. The throne now adorns the State-room in Windsor Castle.

Slavery abolished

The international reputation gained by Travancere was further kept up by the steps taken for the complete abolition of slavery. It was in 1843 the Government of India passed an Act declaring the total emancipation of slavery; Travancore followed suit; relinquished all con-

nection with the perpetuation of slavery; gave freedom to all Sirkar slaves and their posterity; and passed wholesome rules in regard to the treatment of predial labourers. The Maharaja declared these by the Royal Proclamation of the 24th June 1845. The fetters of centuries were broken in that year.

Southern boundary

It was in this reign that the Travancore-Tinnevelly boundary dispute came to be finally set at rest. The terms agreed to by the Madras Government were (1) to maintain the existing line from Shanar Ghat to Shencottah; (2) to continue the Shencottah line across Sivanallur and along its confines on the Peak by Atchenputhoor; (3) to cede Pambily, Puliyara and other possessions of the Company beyond the above lines in exchange for Kalakad, Sambur and Vadakarai; and (4) to surrender Malayankulam and the lands east of the Travancore lines south of Panagudi to the Company the value of which was to be set off against the annual subsidy.

A political crisis

A political crisis arose in 1856. It had a threefold cause from three different directions. The famine of 1852 and the floods that followed laid waste the country. Apart from remissions of taxes, civil supplies of rice from foreign parts at famine rates depleted the exchequer. The British Government had abolished the monopoly on tobacco. The Travancore Government held a monopoly on pepper. This gave a premium to contraband exchange of both articles between British Cochin and Travancore. Besides loss in this direction, the demise of Rani Parvati Bai caused additional expenditure. To meet the situation the Dewan reduced numerous hands in service and raised

the discontent of the disemployed. He allowed salaries to fall in arrears and raised the discontent of the employed. People engaged to supply pepper and other articles to Government were not paid. Corruption began to rear its head. Unable to control it, the Dewan took to punitive methods. He began public flogging like Munro—forgetting that he was not Munro and that the times had changed. There was unrest among the people. Memorials were addressed by them to the British Government. A press campaign was started by the Dewan's enemies—mostly the numerous ex-Dewans and others who had had trouble directly and indirectly on his account. The agitation was kept up in the columns of the *Athenaeum*—a leading English paper at Madras.

The third cause sprang up from the missionaries. They set up an agitation in the matter of costume worn by the Shanar-converts who began to wear costumes like the high-class Hindus. The missionaries encouraged it. The Dewan impugned it. The missionaries led a revolt against the existing social customs. The Resident supported the Dewan. The missionaries gave the movement a political tinge and attacked the Resident. It led to the great Cox-Cullen controversy. All the disaffected parties traduced the administration.

Lord Dalhousie's warning

On the basis of the people's bitter complaints, the missionary memorials and the scathing comments in the press, the Madras Government thought it fit to move the Government of India for the appointment of a commission of enquiry. But Lord Dalhousie held that no commission was necessary. He sounded

his warning note of annexation from the heights of Ootacamund where he happened to be at the time. Accordingly, the Madras Government called the Raja's attention in the most serious manner to the manifold abuses prevailing in his dominions; urged an enlightened policy; and warned him that it was to be feared that the contingency against which Article V of the Treaty was directed was not far distant, unless averted by timely and judicious reforms.

The Raja who was filled with consternation and dismay, took immediate steps to avert the impending danger. Five lakhs of rupees were taken from the vaults of the Pagoda to pay off arrears of public salaries and dues on pepper supplied by the ryots. Meanwhile the Court of Directors insisted on the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the affairs of Travancore and said that the commission "must make a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration of the Travancore Government in all its branches." But the Government of India were not then in a position to do anything owing to the out-break of the Great Indian Mutiny. In Travancore, the difficulty was easily solved by the timely death of Krishna Rao. It has been rightly observed that "if Lord Dalhousie had continued a year more in India, if the great events of 1857 had not occurred and absorbed public attention and if Krishna Rao's administration had been prolonged, Travancore would long ago have been one of the richest collectorates in Southern India."

Such was the condition to which Krishna Rao had brought the State when Madhava Rao became Dewan. He

T. Madhava Rao (1862-1872)

was selected by the Maharaja himself. He wanted one who could cope with the crisis—one open to sources of modern ideas and enlightened public opinion. In supersession of Raman Menon, a senior officer who did not know English, Madhava Rao was preferred because the latter was the first and best product of English education in India—one of the best of "Powell's boys" in Madras and had, as tutor to the princes and as Dewan Peishkar, displayed remarkable tact and ability. His choice was in harmony with the pressing and progressive demand of the times by which the Maharaja had been animated.

The latter half of the nineteenth century which commenced with the advent of Madhava Rao to meet a grave crisis was an epoch of paramount importance in the history of Travancore. The commencement of the period was marked by a crisis quite analogous to the one at the beginning of the first half of the nineteenth century when Col. Munro assumed the duties of the Dewan conjointly with his own as Resident. This epoch covers a period of progress which takes us to the present day. It is conspicuous for great measures of reform which have placed the country quite abreast of the times.

The Governor's visit

The country was in a grave crisis. As a practical statesman, the first step Madhava Rao took was to restore the country's credit which had become impaired. Fo rthis purpose, he took advantage of the Governor's stay at Ooty to invite him to pay a visit to Travancore. Sir William Denison, the Governor, had heard a good deal of misrule and oppression alleged to prevail in the State. He was anxious

to ascertain the truth on the spot; he readily accepted the invitation and visited the State in November 1858. From personal observation and by the Dewan's clear and convincing exposition of the situation, the Governor discovered the mare's nest of the missionary imbroglio. The good Governor communicated his impressions to the Court of Directors. This enabled them to revalue the accounts they had taken on trust from the missionary propagandists. The Governor's visit proved thus to be a double blessing. It removed the legacy of misunderstandings in the past.

Social rights and wrongs

Madhava Rao neither sought nor had the support of the missionaries. The fact was they cried him down at first and when it was found useless, they were loud in their praises. At the earliest opportunity that offered itself, they complained against him with the greatest vigour possible. Sir P. Macguire alludes to "the political difficulties created by certain over-enthusiastic missionaries" and avers how Prince Rama Varma's writings materially stemmed the tide of public opinion which was then setting against Travancore. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 gave them a new chance of reviving their old agitation against the existing social order. It led to a grave disturbance which drew Cullen to a third conflict with the new missionaries. The Rani's Proclamation of 1829 was set at naught. The Shanar converts began to infringe existing rules, while the Hindus began to take the law into their own hands. Serious affrays ensued. These were made worse by interested petty Sirkar officials on the one side and interested missionaries on the other.

The latter began as usual to flood the British Government with memorials.

A sartorial proclamation

As a result of this barren controversy a new Proclamation was issued on the 26th July 1859. It declared in effect that the Christian Shanar women or Shanar women of all creeds could dress *in any manner whatever* but not like women of high estate. This set matters at rest.

The Secretary of State's Despatch

With Madhava Rao it was a function of preserving public tranquillity on the administrative side; and of the application of religious neutrality on the social side. In approving of his action, the Secretary of State for India in his despatch to the Madras Government expressed the hope that "the measures adopted by the Travancore State will prevent the recurrence of these painful disputes and embarassing disturbances."

Gen. Cullen retired in 1860. The choice of the Resident fell on Mr. Francis Maltby—"a gentleman of great official experience, eminent talents, excellent literary powers and a warm and generous heart." The Raja died in the same year. He reigned for thirteen years (1847-1860), and his reign was marked by the abolition of slavery; by the encouragement given to education; by many liberal acts for the benefit of his people; and, above all, by the example set by him in favour of female education, in the persons of the princesses of his family. He was noted for skill in medicine. He had quite a passion for the theatre. He wrote numerous plays himself and maintained a troupe of whom Iswara Pillai Vicharipu was chief actor who for the first time had brought out a collection of fifty-four Kathakali plays including the Maharaja's works. He was succeeded by Ayilyam Tirunal Sir Rama Varma I.

CHAPTER XIII

AYILYAM TIRUNAL SIR RAMA VARMA I
(1860—1880)

Lakshmi Bai, the Rani Regent, had two sons and a daughter. The two previous rulers were those sons. Rama Varma was one of the off-spring of that daughter. He was a highly intelligent prince, gifted with talents of a high order.

Dewan Madhava Rao had the cordial support and sympathy of both the new ruler and the new Resident. It has been truly said that " such a conjunction of favourable planets did not occur in recent times and they combined to give so great an impetus to the national advance that the time they shone together in Travancore firmament may be truly designated the Augustan era of Travancore history."

Madhava Rao's measures touched every branch of the administration. He reconstituted the whole machinery and brought it still closer to the system in British India.

In 1861 the Madras Government proposed the removal of certain fiscal restrictions in Travancore. The coasting trade of British India was free from all duties. But Travancore as a Subsidiary State did not come within the scope of the enactment; and consequently the produce of Travancore, when landed in India, was charged with import duty as foreign goods; similarly the produce of India, when exported to the ports of

Free trade and customs convention

Travancore, was charged with export duty. The same was the case with goods passing the land frontier, though on some lines the duty had been mutually abandoned. The Maharaja on his part levied customs duty on imports and exports to British ports. Accordingly the produce of British India came to be admitted free by land and sea into Travancore with the exception of certain articles. The rate of duty was to be levied by Travancore on all foreign produce imported into Travancore, with the exception of certain articles. The Travancore State was to raise the salt tax to the same level as that of the Madras Government; and the British tariff valuations were to be adopted as a general rule. On the part of the British Government the Travancore produce (opium, salt, wines and spirits excepted) was to be admitted into British Indian ports, free of duty; the Travancore duties on the excepted articles were to be levied at British Cochin and the proceeds were to be shared proportionately. This was confirmed by a *Customs Convention* entered into with Travancore in 1865. The State could not create a trade barrier between it and British India. By the Convention the State was to follow British Indian tariff on a compensation of Rs. 40,000 a year. The Travancore ports virtually became British Indian ports and lost a large spate of port dues due otherwise. But to mark off the sovereign right, Travancore was allowed to levy and collect a nominal rent.

The State arose from displacement of baronial lands and temple lands. The lands were of two classes—*Pandara vaka* or State lands and *jenmi vaka* or lands owned by individual proprietors. In respect of the

A Magna Carta of the ryots

former the relation of the ryot was direct between him and Government. In respect of the latter the relation of the ryot was direct with the proprietors. Under this system, thousands of ryots had been occupying Jenmis' lands and building houses and making improvements. But the tenure was not permanent. It was open to the proprietors to turn out their tenants at any time on payment of compensation. To improve the lot of the ryots, a Royal Proclamation was issued. It prevented the land-lords from turning them out at will, so long as they paid the customary rents duly They could occupy land, improve it, convey it from ryot to ryot, and pass it from heir to heir. This Proclamation which gave fixity of tenure has been rightly called the *Magna Carta* of the Travancore ryots. They could hold small estates as good as owned. They got dignity and credit and gained in energy and enterprise.

European British subjects

The European now stands apart from the native and has his own rights. Every European wishing to settle in Travancore applies to the Resident for permission. The Resident asks the Ruler if there is any objection. The Ruler invariably replies he has none. Thereupon the Resident issues a license to the applicant to reside in the State. The European so residing agrees to be bound by the laws of the State. The European Commercial Agent of the State at Alleppey was one such. He was charged with having embezzled a sum of Rs. 15,000 from the Commercial Treasury. Madhava Rao, as the Chief Magistrate, tried him; found him guilty and punished him. The British Resident contended that the Dewan

had no right to do so. The Madras Government agreed and questioned the validity of the right claimed by Travancore. Thereupon, Madhava Rao armed himself with the legal advice of the great jurist John D. Mayne and supported his position. The Committee appointed by the Government of Madras to examine it further upheld Mayne's view which prevailed in the end. It was a first victory but not a final one.

State religion and charity

During Madhava Rao's time, the periodical Murajapom ceremony came off. The State spent something like six lakhs of rupees in that connection. The British Government naturally came to enquire about the grounds of this huge expenditure on a particular class. The outlay on religious and charitable institutions formed the target of attacks from all sides. In 1871 a formal enquiry was made through Ballard, the then British Resident. Madhava Rao explained the position and policy of the State and maintained that the Maharajas as sovereigns of a purely Hindu State, have always regarded it as a religious duty to keep such institutions. Madhava Rao could not see eye to eye with those who judged from alien standards. He was true to the State he served; and fought strenuously for its integrity. Even a European like Col. Munro had recognised and guaranteed the continuance of the established allotments.

Failure of natural heirs is a danger with which ruling houses are too often beset. Adoption is the method pursued to prevent extinction. There was no statutory

sanction for it. The Government of India issued in 1862 a Sunnad by which adoptions made according to the Hindu law and to the customs of their race were duly recognised and confirmed.

A Sunnad of Adoption

To make the administration of justice up-to-date and efficient British Codes were adapted with suitable alterations. The salaries of the Judges were enhanced. Able men were appointed Judges. Qualified vakils were allowed to plead. The bench and the bar were simultaneously improved. In introducing these reforms, Madhava Rao was considerably helped by Justice Sadasivan Pillay, his class-fellow and a distinguished Judge of the Chief Court of Travancore for several years.

Improved law courts

Alive to the importance of English education the Maharaja grudged no outlay on it. He raised the "Raja's Free School" at Trivandrum to the status of a college and got down able English Professors. Numerous English schools were set up as feeders to the college. A compulsory scheme of vernacular education was started with a normal and central school at Trivandrum. Shungra-Soobyer who afterwards became Dewan was the first Director of Education. By opening a large number of elementary schools both for boys and girls, a fresh impetus was given to vernacular education.

Educational expansion

To the nurseries of schools intended for the improvement of the mind, were added nurseries of hospitals and dispensaries designed for the adequate distribution of medical relief. Before Madhava Rao's time there were

Medical institutions

very few hospitals in the State. Their number was largely increased to cope with the fight against disease. A separate Vaccination Department was formed to guard against the contagion of small-pox.

Expansion of public works

To keep up with the continued growth and development of public works the department, first organised in 1860, was enlarged in its scope and extent of operations. A light-house was set up at Alleppey, with an illuminating apparatus of the best pattern. The Varkala canal was opened. Trunk roads were made—the Trivandrum-Cape Camorin Road and the Quilon-Shencottah Road.

Title of "Maharaja"

In fact every subject of the realm was "provided within a couple of hours' journey with the advantages of a doctor, a school master, a judge, a magistrate, a registering officer and a postmaster." From the wretched position which threatened annexation at any moment, Madhava Rao, by his great genius and administrative talents, raised the country to the proud position of a "Model State." These reforms evoked the approbation of the Secretary of State for India. The title of "Maharaja" was officially conferred upon the Ruler. Besides this, Queen Victoria conferred upon him the exalted order and dignity of a G. C. S. I.; while his minister, Madhava Rao, was at the same time invested with the insignia of a K. C. S. I. The people of Travancore have gratefully erected a statue of Sir Madhava Rao under the shadow of the public offices which he built and in which he rendered such magnificent services to the country and the people. On his retirement he became the Dewan of Indore and then the Dewan-Regent

of Baroda. The title of Raja was conferred on him by the Government of India. Kesava Das was the first Dewan to win this distinction. That was for war services. Madhava Rao got it for victories of peace no less renowned than war.

Seshiah Sastri (1872-1877)

The retirement of Sir T. Madhava Rao brought in Seshiah Sastri as Dewan. He too was another of "Powell's boys" employed as Sheristadar in the Board of Revenue, Madras.

The choice was to have fallen on Ramiengar of the same band of brotherhood. Prince Visakam Tirunal strongly supported his nomination. But for the decided hostility of the Ruler to everything that proceeded from the Prince, Ramiengar's appointment as the successor of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao would have been an accomplished fact then, instead of years after, when Prince Visakam Tirunal himself came to the throne.

Readjustment of powers

The British Government held that the Dewan's possession of magisterial power was incompatible with his position as the head of the administration. The Dewan was accordingly relieved from all magisterial functions which had been exercised by his predecessors. The British Government held also that European residents of the State should be tried by European magistrates. As a result of this, special European magistrates were created to try Europeans in the State. Seshiah Sastri strongly opposed it but in vain. The European heads of departments showed an inclina-

tion to set his authority at a discount. Thereupon his right to have absolute control on all departments of administration was upheld and sanctioned.

First Census

The first systematic census of the country was taken along with the census of India in 1875. It was conducted by a State officer who was the first graduate from the State college and afterwards held charge of the administration as often as nine times.

Sastri's administration was marked by much of constructional works—new roads were opened; irrigation canals repaired; new tanks excavated; and the Varkala tunnel works completed. The Padmatirtham Tank which supplies water to the temple and the channel which supplies water to the tank and the palace were restored to a good state. The Padmanabhaswamy Temple and the tower were renovated and made beautiful. New buildings were constructed to accommodate the Arts College. A new State Museum was built up. It was designed by Chisholm in the style of Malayalam architecture, and was called the Napier Museum in honour of Lord Napier, the then Governor of Madras.

Seshiah had an implacable hatred of corruption which he put down with a strong hand. He standardised weights and measures lack of which had given facilities for fraud among the traders. Smuggling was stopped; and the margin for peculation and underhand dealings was considerably minimised.

He was a staunch supporter of religious and charitable institutions. He closely followed the policy of Madhava Rao and he reaffirmed that policy and

declared that "the interest of Government in respect of these institutions is, for the most part, only that of a trustee, and even were it otherwise, this State will be bound, as every other country in the world does, to maintain a church established out of public revenue."

Espousal of religion and charity

The great Indian famine of 1876-77 drove thousands to Travancore Relief works were opened and they were all, at State expense, well-housed, well-fed and altogether well-cared for—an act quite in keeping with the traditional charity and liberality of the ruling house of Travancore.

Tours in India

In 1875 the Ruler toured for the first time outside the Madras Presidency. He went to Calcutta to meet Lord Northbrooke,the Viceroy, who had invited him there. In 1875 the Raja undertook a special trip to Madras to meet the Prince of Wales who had abandoned his proposed visit to Travancore. In his record of the Prince's tours in India, Dr. W. H. Russell, Private Secretary to the Prince, refers to the sovereign as an admirable man of business, very punctual and exact, fond of science and profoundly attached to his faith; to Seshiah Sastri as a school-fellow of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao and as a man of great intelligence; and to Travancore itself as a "Model Native State."

An Imperial Banner

The greatest political event during this regime was the celebration in 1877 of the historic event of the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria. Owing to indisposition the Maharaja did not attend the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. He was

presented on that occasion with an Imperial Banner. It was emblazoned with the Maharaja's arms surmounted by the Queen's Crown. In accepting it as a token of her closer union and affectionate regard, he pledged himself to use it on all State occasions as a symbol of alliance and affinity existing between the State and the British Raj.

Seshiah Sastri's Dewanship was a bright chapter in the history of the State as well as of his own life. After his retirement it was given him to win fresh laurels in Pudukottah, first as Dewan and then as Dewan-Regent.

Nanu Pillai (1877-80)

Seshiah Sastri was succeeded in the office of Dewan by N. Nanu Pillai. Having tried two of "Powell's boys" of the Madras High School, the Maharaja wanted to try Travancore talent. Nanu Pillai was a proficient of the Mission School at Neyyur. Gen. Cullen thought well of him and made him Manager of the Resident's office. Dewan Madhava Rao advanced him as Dewan Peishkar. Lord Napier, during his visit, told the Maharaja that Nanu Pillai would make a good Dewan for him. It was a wish after the Ruler's own heart. Nanu Pillai made a good Home-Dewan.

Under a self-conscious and self-willed Ruler like Sir Rama Varma, both Madhava Rao and Seshiah Sastri never felt free. He held the main strings in his own hands. Hence the latter part of Madhava Rao's tenure did not run smooth. Seshiah Sastri knew how to yield graciously. Hence he did not get into friction. Nanu Pillai's Dewanship ran smooth. He was the father of

Pokkuvaravu or a system of consolidation of titles to land. This brought in large revenue. The treasury was full. People were contented.

Thus when the administration was going on financially well, the Ruler passed away in 1880. Like his predecessors he too was a great scholar. His two great works in Malayalam are the *Sakuntalam* and the *Minakethana Charitam.* He patronised poets like Elathur Ramaswamy Sastri and great musicians like the great Vaithi and Raghavan. His reign, marked by the development of wise and enlightened principles of administration, placed Travancore in the *first rank of Native States.*

CHAPTER XIV

VISAKAM TIRUNAL SIR RAMA VARMA II

(1880—1885)

He was succeeded by his brother and namesake Sir Rama Varma II (Visakam Tirunal—the name by which he has been popularly known). He ascended the musnud as a made-monarch—made by an ardent and long study of the State. He came quite with an overwhelming passion for reforming the country. He was out therefore for a capable minister of attainments and aptitude like his own. Nanu Pillai, too home-bred to cope with this new Ruler's high ideals, voluntarily yielded to the will of his sovereign and went into honourable retirement. The choice fell on Ramiengar—another distinguished proficient and school-fellow of Madhava Rao and Seshiah Sastri. The Maharaja had long known him. Never had Maharaja and minister felt and thought alike as Rama Varma and Ramiengar. They both worked together to build a new Rome of reforms.

A Ducal recall

One of the first acts of the reign was the recall from exile of Kerala Varma Valia Koil Thampuran. He was the consort of the Senior Rani and a scholar of remarkable attainments. The late Ruler had interned him at Alleppey and afterwards at Aripad for reasons in the back-ground. His forced separation from the Rani is the subject of one of his best poems in Malayalam—*The Peacock Messenger*. After the model of Kalidasa's *Megha Sandesa*, it

is a message to the noble Rani, a type of heroic womanhood. Those who wish to read the best in Malayalam literature should not miss it.

The new Ruler and the new Dewan set about overhauling the whole administrative machinery. Attention was first directed to the protective departments. The work of the police had long been badly mixed up with those of the revenue officers and magistrates. The duties of the police were divorced from other functions. A new police force was formed. Well paid and well-disciplined, it was made workable and set apart exclusively to preserve order and peace under a new regulation on the lines of the Madras Police Act.

Departmental reforms

The condition of the Judicial Department was next improved. The litigation of the country was on the increase and the superior courts were unable to cope with the huge volume of law suits. The existing Code of Laws was found defective in many respects. It was thoroughly overhauled and replaced by the Code of Laws in British Indian Courts. The State Courts were remodelled to suit the new Codes. The Sadr Court was made the highest and final tribunal of authority. Work and salaries of judicial officers were adequately increased.

The most important administrative reform associated with this reign was, however, the promulgation of a complete and systematic scheme of scientific revenue survey and settlement. The object was not so much to increase the revenue as to impart perfect security of title to the holders and thereby to promote the well-being

Scientific survey and settlement

of the agricultural classes and the general prosperity of the State. The new scheme was introduced in 1883. It had a very large programme. It fell to Shungrasoobyer, a most capable revenue officer, to work it up.

Land-lords and tenants

The question of the relations between land-lords and tenants was reconsidered. The Proclamation about it issued in the late reign came to the rescue of the tenants. Dewan Ramiengar found it necessary to do something for the land-lords who had lost a great right. What rights still remained to them were made secure lest the old Proclamation should be a confiscation. It was therefore amended in this direction. Fixity of ryots' tenure was the key-note of the old Proclamation. Reservation of land-lords' remaining rights was the key-note of the new Proclamation.

Irrigation projects

The Maharaja took a personal interest in the cultivation and agriculture of Nanjanad known as the granary of the south. The Pandyan Dam, the key to the irrigation system of Nanjanad, was leaking badly; the channel taken from it was small and narrow; the Puthen Dam likewise was letting out a good deal of water into the river by leakage; the channels were winding and tortuous in their course. Head-works were supplied to concentrate and control the whole system of irrigation.

In opening the head-works the Ruler whose interest in rural welfare was paternal, said: "May these works distribute the blessings of plenty far and wide. May the blessings of a contented and prosperous population be our reward."

Reform upon reform came thick and fast. The administrative measures were legion, such as the introduction of the Stamp Act, the simplification of the export traffic; the abolition of the export duty on numerous petty articles; the holding of an agricultural exhibition and cattle show; the regulation of *kumari* or hill cultivation; the remission of various minor taxes; and the encouragement given to industries on the development side. The founding of a chair of Physical Science and Chemistry in the Mararaja's College; the extension of elementary education by the offer of grants-in-aid to numerous indigenous schools in the country; the establishment of normal schools for training teachers; and the revival of the defunct Text-Book Committee were others towards educational advancement.

Other measures of reform

The settlement of the boundary between Travancore and Cochin was yet another great event of the period. Travancore and Cochin have a common frontier. Certain territorial disputes affecting the boundary which had arisen formed a long-standing source of trouble to both the States. In 1880 they agreed to a settlement by arbitration as suggested by the Madras Government. J. C. Hannygton, the British Resident, was made the arbitrator. The point of dispute referred to five matters—the sovereign right over the Idayara range of hills, the right of nominating a *Thatchudaya Kaimal* or a Maharaja-ordained Nair-monk to manage the affairs of the Kudalmanikam temple; the sovereign right over the management of Elamkunnapuzha, Annamanada, and Perumanam temples. The first two were finally adjudged

Boundary arbitration

in favour of Travancore; and with regard to the last three, the right of sovereignty was declared to vest in Cochin but the right of management to belong to Travancore.

The Travancore-Tinnevelly and the Travancore-Madura boundary lines were also got clearly defined and demarcated.

The Maharaja did all this and more in the all too brief period of five years. It was a colossal attempt to build Rome in a day. He exerted an influence for good on the service of the State which was truly remarkable. He made time to pursue his scientific studies. He discovered the food qualities of tapioca and introduced it as a staple article of diet for the poor millions. By this act alone he has conferred a greater and a more lasting benefit on the people than by his volumes of fine writing of which he was a past-master. He died at the age of forty-eight in 1885. Honours came to him thick and fast. He was invested with the Knight Grand Commandership of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India and almost all the scientific institutions of Europe showered honours on him. As observed by that acute observer of human intelligence and character, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, this Maharaja was the typical example of the influence of English thought upon the South Indian mind.

A Raja Rishi

Yet he was no less a typical specimen of the influence of Indian thought upon the Indian mind. He was profoundly attached to his own faith. He spoke of himself as "*Rajyasrama Muni*" and hoped to become "*Vanyasrama Muni.*" This was not to be. The call came from the great King of kings whose Heavenly light as his sole guide, the Maharaja had treasured as his motto.

CHAPTER XV

SRI MULAM TIRUNAL SIR RAMA VARMA III

(1885-1924)

His nephew and namesake, whose title to the throne had been duly recognised by the Paramount Power so far back as June 1880 when he became Heir-Apparent, ascended the musnud on the 19th August 1885. His mother, Lakshmi Bai, was the only sister of the two previous rulers, and the only grand-daughter of her namesake, the Regent-Rani. With this reign begins the history of Travancore within the memory of very many people still living. It is a history of progress under the administration of nine Dewans. The corn of history proper has to be thrashed out of the heaps of their administrative sheafs. The plan that suggests itself as natural and suitable is to deal with the leading events according to their periods of office in succession.

Dewan Ramiengar remained in office for two years more. He was concerned with the carrying on of his pet scheme of revenue settlement. Incidentally he went into the question of *viruthi* or Inam service. It was a relic of the olden times. In those days of warfare numerous families of Nairs had been given lands free, in return for their furnishing provisions for the army. In the days of peace these services, called *viruthi*, came to be transferred to the palace and the temples. The viruthi holders found it a losing game to supply provisions at the old rates. Altered economic conditions called for

putting things in a new way. For this a searching enquiry was started.

Ramiengar resigned in 1887. The Maharaja took the opportunity for reviving the policy of giving a fair chance to local talents. Rama Rao was a Travancorean and a proficient of the Mission School at Nagercoil. He had entered British service. In his anxiety to have reliable officers about him, Dewan Madhava Rao took him into Travancore service and advanced him to the position of Dewan Peishkar. The Maharaja had known him long and well and considered him most loyal and made him Dewan.

Rama Rao (1887-1892)

The first event of political importance was the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The good Maharaja and his good Dewan celebrated a good Queen's Jubilee in a very good way. A Darbar was held: the Viceroy's *kharita* was read; a State banquet was given; public gardens and offices were illuminated; thanksgiving services were conducted in temples, churches and mosques; students were treated; the poor were fed. The good Maharaja gracefully spoke of the Queen's rule as being "synonymous with liberty and toleration, with the suppression of vice and elevation of virtue." And the accomplished Maharani held a meeting of ladies and sent an illuminated address to the Queen on behalf of the women of Travancore. The Trivandrum Jubilee Town Hall and the Quilon Victoria Medical School and Hospital are the standing memorials of the great event.

Queen's Jubilee

An agitation

The Maharaja began well and his minister worked hand in hand with the Ruler. But by a strange irony of things an agitation was led by the Nairs. The key-note of the agitation was "Travancore for Travancoreans." It was a copy of "Mysore for Mysoreans"—all based on Digby's larger theme of "India for Indians." In Travancore it was, however, ill-timed, especially when the Ruler had revived the policy of employing Travancoreans for the highest office. There was discontent among a section of the partisans of the previous administration. The official partisans indirectly and the non-official malcontents directly started this agitation. There were memorials and newspaper propaganda. Pamphlets reared their heads and traduced the administration and spared neither the Ruler nor the British Resident.

Lord Connemara's visit

In view of the agitation, Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to Travancore "in order to find out facts on the spot." He became thoroughly convinced that "the affairs of the State were on the whole efficiently and wisely conducted." He gave the administration his strong support; and by the bestowal of the Star of India proved to the world that the Maharaja had the fullest confidence of the British Government.

The institution of Legislative Council

Lord Connemara was a liberal-minded Governor like the great Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. He was the people's man. He honoured the Congress delegates at a garden party in those bureaucratic days. During his visit to Travancore he strongly advised the Maharaja that the best way to keep down popular

agitation was to take the people into confidence and give them a voice. The Maharaja realized the wisdom of it and at once took steps to start a Legislative Council. A Regulation providing for its establishment was passed. The Council started with a strength of eight members of whom two were non-officials. It took power to pass any emergent laws, the force of which, however, was limited to six months. The Council was inaugurated in August 1888. Travancore was the *first* among the Indian States to start a popular institution of the kind.

Other measures of reform

Ramiengar's reforms were experimental. The results yielded in different directions had to be moulded into a definite shape. To Rama Rao fell that task. He was a good revenue officer himself. In regard to land settlement he did three things. He made the cost less. He made the out-turn more. He made the quality better. As a practical man who had no belief in paper reform ; he made suitable alterations in methods. He methodised the revenue system and introduced departmental tests in it.

As a friend of the ryot, he did a good deal for the extension and improvement of cultivation. A large number of irrigation schemes and schemes for reclamation of lands from the back-waters were carried out.

Agricultural loans were granted and the farmers relieved from the strangle-hold of money lenders.

The most beneficent fiscal measure was the relief granted to viruthi holders. The viruthicars held lands on condition of supplying vegetables. They could not give up their lands. They had to make supplies at fixed

rates. These rates were far below the market value. Their liabilities ran to over a lakh of rupees. This was remitted. The old rates were revised and the services to be rendered were made clear and definite. There were over 20,000 holders of viruthi lands. Their lot was improved considerably.

Owing to advancing years and the need for rest from the weight of office, Rama Rao laid it down in 1892. In appreciation of the good work he had done, the British Government conferred on him the order of a C. I. E.

Sankarasubbier (1892-1897)

Sankarasubbier became the next Dewan. He was a finished product of the Maharaja's High School in the pre-collegiate days. He was a Travancorean to the tip of his fingers—a well read man who could write English wonderfully well. He began life as a teacher. Those were days when it was possible for a man to shift from department to department according to his aptitudes and inclinations. He had been Police Sheristadar and Director of Vernacular Education. He had narrowly escaped a judgeship and became a Boundary Commissioner and Settlement Dewan Peishkar in the previous reign. The late ruler held that Sankarasubbier had few equals in the service of the State. He had, however, to bide his time to reach the top. He succeeded Rama Rao.

The Dewan was made the executive head of the whole administration. The question arose whether the head of the judiciary had any right to act independently of the Dewan. It was ruled that the paramount power recognis-

ed the Dewan alone as the minister responsible for the whole administration, in accordance with treaty obligations which concerned the administration of justice as well. As such the Dewan was responsible for the official organisation of the administration of justice. Apart from judicial functions for which the courts were independent, it was declared that the judicial administration was only a department like other departments subject to the executive control of the head of the administration.

Relation between the Executive and the judiciary

Dewan Sankarasubbier laid the foundation of the present Huzur Secretariat. The old Secretary, Frank Watts, was an Anglo-Indian veteran who had shepherded all the Dewans from Madhava Rao onwards. He was the only Secretary to the Dewan and held charge of the English branch of the Huzur Cutchery. It had then a Huzur Peishkar to control the Vernacular branch. When Watts retired, the opportunity was taken to combine both the English and the Vernacular branches and place them under a common Secretariat system. Thanu Pillay, one of the best products of University education, was made Chief Secretary to Government and Huzur Dewan Peishkar, and placed at the head of the newly-formed Secretariat.

Huzur Secretariat

Sankarasubbier was an educational Dewan and had the support of the British Resident, H. B. Grigg, who, as a former Director of Public Instruction in Madras, was an educational Resident. In Dr. A.C. Mitchell both found an able Educational Secretary. Together they evolved a new educa-

Educational reform

tional scheme. The system of education was brought under the operation of a new code. The present-day education is the full and final flower of the policy laid down in it. Both English and vernacular education were amalgamated. Dr. Mitchell was the first Director of Public Instruction and he continued for several years. Side by side with the Arts College, a Law College and a Training College were newly opened.

The Kodayar project

Several measures were taken towards rural advancement. An agricultural school and demonstration farm was started for teaching and showing scientific ways of cultivation. The old cultivation suffered not a little for want of an adequate supply of water. This fatal defect was removed by the Kodayar project planned and worked out by the Dewan in the teeth of great opposition. The Kodayar irrigation reservoir has cost a capital expenditure of 86·23 lakhs of rupees. Its channels and distributaries have a total length of 322 miles and these irrigate the vast stretches of rice fields in Nanjanad, measuring over 55 thousand acres. The Kodayar is a tributary of the Kulithorai river. A reservoir is formed by a concrete dam at Pechiparai across the Kodayar. The impounded water is taken off by a channel eleven miles long to the Pazhayar. It is supplemented by the opening of several branch channels such as the Thovala channel, the Ananthanar extension, the Thiruvankodu channel and the Erattakarai channel. These irrigate 28,000 acres of additional cultivated area.

The system of viruthi was abolished as quite unsuited to the economic condition of the day. It gave immense

relief to thousands of Nair families who have since then found it possible to own and work their own farms without any burden whatever.

For the improvement of towns, councils were set up for the first time. These provided an opening for the exercise of civic rights. The councils consisted of a certain number of nominated members with the Division Officers as Presidents. These were nurseries of self-government which have now developed themselves into municipal councils with elected members and non-official Presidents.

Town Improvement Committees

In respect of village sanitation a Sanitary Department was organised for the first time providing for control and maintenance of rural health.

The Queen's Diamond Jubilee was the opportunity for an outburst of loyalty instinctively native to the people of Travancore. The Public Library is the educative memorial of the great event.

The Dewan equally loyal to the Maharaja was eager to raise the prestige of the latter in the matter of royal salutes. Though the ruler had a salute of 21 guns within the State, the number was limited to 19 in British territory. The penultimate Maharaja had 21. It was a personal distinction conferred upon him at the time of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in 1878. It ceased with the demise of that ruler. The next was short-lived. The Dewan took up the question of salute and moved the British Resident in the matter. He pointed out that the Maharaja had already received the exalted order of the G.C.S.I.

Royal Salutes

It was an order then reserved only for first class States. And every first class State had a salute of 21 guns. It was invidious therefore for the Maharaja to have 19 only. The Resident fully approved of an increase of two guns and addressed the British Government. It took time however for the sanction of the Secretary of State to be obtained. By the time it came, the Dewan had retired.

He retired in 1898 after an unusually meritorious service. He was made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. And after his retirement, he was nominated as a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council by the Government of Sir Arthur Havelock. His name stands high as ever in the annals of Travancore.

Krishnaswami Rao (1898-1904)

Krishnaswami Rao succeeded him. He had been the Chief Justice of the State before. He was the second Judge made Dewan—the first being Srinivasa Rao in the reign of the Swati Tirunal Maharaja. The Judge had not left him when he became Dewan. The Resident credited him with "level evenness." In other words he had no pet departments or any pet scheme to engage his attention too largely. Everything was even. He was cautious and conservative.

Introduction of railway

It was in his time the railway was first introduced into Travancore. It was by special arrangement with the S.I.R. Company that the line from Tinnevelly was extended to Quilon. The guarantee against loss made the cost heavy and the time long. If a Railway was to enter Travancore there was only one way indicated by the nature for it, and that was the Aramboly pass and

not the Arienkavu pass, the mountainous character of which was responsible for the time and cost involved. It lent itself however to the opening up of a large mass of forest land.

He espoused the cause of industries and created a technical institute; but by a strange irony of things it came to pass that the Punalur paper mills had to be closed. It was one of the best industrial concerns started by Dewan Ramiengar for the manufacture and supply of paper to Government.

He was confronted with a serious disturbance at the Shenkotta frontier—the Maravar-Shanar outbreak. The Shanars ventured to go where their company was resented by the Maravas. The riot spread and grew in virulence. The British military had to be called in to quell it.

Frontier disturbance

Not long after, the British military cantoned at Quilon was withdrawn by the British Government. It gave the opportunity for the formation of a new corps of Imperial Service in Travancore.

A New Army Corps

He had to struggle with coin trouble due to the scope given for false coinage by the silver Chuckram, the size of which was small and the stamp of which was vague. To stop counterfeits the silver one-Chuckrum coins were changed into copper ones with a large and new die. These were minted in Manchester. The withdrawal of the old coins from currency before the new ones had come, caused confusion and handicapped daily transactions for some time.

New currency

The death of Queen Victoria was the first shadow cast on the State. Then it was woe upon woe—an unprecedented calamity by which the royal house lost every member of it save the Ruler. The only and the brightest silver line in the cloud was the adoption of two princesses as heirs who have fulfilled the prophetic words of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, that "by this interesting event there may never be wanting in the Travancore State a succession of princes royally born and qualified by instinct and training to carry on its ancient and honourable tradition."* Little anticipating either his own premature death or that of his younger brother (Prince Aswati Tirunal) the Elia Raja opposed the adoption on the ground that it could be left to either of them to do. But events have more than justified the momentous step so prudently taken by the Maharaja.

Adoption

Krishnaswami Rao was a god-fearing man. He was responsible for the Travancore Charitable Endowments Regulation sponsored through the Legislative Council by Dewan Peishkar Nagam Aiya who, as acting Dewan, met. the coin-crisis so successfully.

The Dewan conducted the periodical Murajapam with religious fervour to the great satisfaction of the pious-minded Ruler. But the expense incurred provoked the censure of the Viceroy.

Lord Curzon's was the first viceregal visit made to the State. He took the occasion unmistakably to lay down the dictum that the people should be weaned from old-world privileges and that those who enjoy them should pay

First Viceregal Visit

for them rather than those who do not. The Ruler lost no time to follow the viceregal advice.

Krishnaswami Rao put the judiciary on a better footing. He did one great service to all public servants—the reduction of the period qualifying for pension from thirty to twenty-five years. He was actuated by the best of motives but like most Judge-made Dewans he had not much of driving power. The result was that the administration lapsed into inactivity towards his closing period. Officers went their own way. Departments got clogged. Things raced almost to a crisis.

On his retirement in 1904, V.P. Madhava Rao became Dewan. He came from the sister-State of Mysore. He had taken his innings under Dewans Ranga Charlu and Seshadri Iyer and won laurels in varied capacities till he had become the first member of the State Council there. It was Travancore's luck to have gothis services at that juncture.

V. P. Madhava Rao (1904-6)

He was a man of remarkable driving power and tenacity of purpose characteristic of the Maharashtra blood. With his coming, Travancore saw a new political light. He held office only for a small period—two years; but he did great things in that short time.

With his practised eyes he descried knots and tangles which he set about untying and disentangling in order to establish a better order of things. The first was to settle the settlement work which had got unsettled. For one reason at first, it went one way at one time; for another,

Settlement settled

another way next time. It went no way at all for a long time and what was intended to be finished in five years had taken four times that period and yet was nowhere near completion. He pulled it out of the rut and put it on a simple and sound working basis. Along with it he gave a decent burial to the century-old system of taxation-in-kind, so unsuited to the times.

Like the Settlement, the Account Department too was out of joint. No real auditing in the true sense of the term had taken place under the old cumbrous system for such a long time that it came to be discredited by the Madras Government. Madhava Rao had no genius for figures. He had the gift of getting work done and getting the proper man for it. He got down Subbaroyar, an expert, who with a clear-headed grasp of details thoroughly overhauled the department and put it on a sound and systematic basis on the lines of the British Account Dept. The Huzur Central Account and Audit Office was created for the purpose. He found out the anomaly of the Chief Engineer auditing his own account and rightly absorbed that work into the Central Account Office.

Central Account and Audit

In pursuance of the Viceroy's behest to cut down the expenses on religious and charitable institutions, the *Pathivu* was re-adjusted with reference to the rate of prices in the market. The fiction kept up between the ruling price and the old rates was removed and effectual control and economy were secured.

He did a great thing to foster the cardamom industry. He made a tour of the high ranges; and in the course of his conference with the cardamom ryots he understood that they had no hold upon their holdings. With the sanction of the Maharaja the old ryots were given proprietary right over their holdings and new settlers were allowed to pay the upset price in convenient instalments. The decaying cardamom industry received thus a new lease of life.

Cardamom holdings

Having improved the services and put them in thorough working order, he did a very great thing which puts everything else into the shade. That was the organization and inauguration of the Sri Mulum Popular Assembly which laid the foundation of a new national life. If he had attempted nothing more than that it alone was enough to earn for him the good-will and gratitude of the people of Travancore.

Sri Mulam Popular Assembly

He brought the idea of the Assembly from Mysore to Travancore and took the idea of the Legislative Council from Travancore to Mysore where he was called to be Dewan while still he was holding the helm of affairs in Travancore.

The next Dewan was Gopalachari. He was a judge in the British District of Tinnevelly. As a Judge-made Dewan he cut the most sorry figure. He tried to close down the Assembly and convert it into a petition branch of the Huzur. He was tactless and ran tilt at men and things. He was recalled within a little over a year of his coming into office. The short period was long enough to put the State machine out of gear.

P. Rajagopala Chari (1908-1914)

It was then that Rajagopala Chari took up the reins. He was a very able man, with a tremendous driving power. He was one of the first to enter the Statutory Civil Service in British India. There he had made a name. He became Dewan of Cochin and got to know the peculiarities and difficulties inherent to a State-administration. With rare outfit and long experience he ran the administration in a masterly way. He fostered Travancore's little Parliament, made it popular and more and more representative by bringing in an element of election.

He encouraged public opinion one way but he set his face against it in another way. He interned an editor and confiscated his press and property for which (in the absence of any law) he had to invoke a special proclamation. There he showed the bureaucrat in him.

His reforms

He created high offices, paid high salaries and purified the public service and maintained the prestige of Government. He curtailed the expenses on religion and charitable institutions as the result of a commission appointed for the purpose. His administration is memorable for the improvements he made by legislation in the social welfare of the different communities—the Nayars, the Nambudiris, the Elavas and the Syrian Christians. Among his great contributions to the material welfare of the people was the organisation of the Agricultural Department and the Co-operative Credit Societies. He was a pronounced patron of the backward classes and pulled them out of their backwardness. Their uplift in a conservative State

was a great achievement. He raised the standard of life generally but, in the new national life built up, class interests became more and more divergent and adequate representation of different sections everywhere and in everything became a great problem.

Sir M. Krishnan Nair (1914-20)

M. Krishnan Nair was the next Dewan. He was a Congressman before. He came to Travancore as Chief Justice. In grappling with problems his struggle was great. But it was made greater by the outbreak of the great European war. He did his best to face the situation. The Civil Supplies Department organized by him was a great success The paramount power greatly appreciated the State's liberal contribution of men and money towards the war.

He started an industrial survey and opened a Department of Industries which however did nothing much. He raised the strength of the Council to twenty-five but extending its power in one direction, he extinguished it in another. This was not done through the existing Council and did not meet with popular approval. The root of the discontent lay in a different direction. A Civic Rights League came into being and it ventilated the claims of the non-caste Hindus and non-Hindus for admission into the revenue department which on account of its connection with the temple department had been closed against them. His policy of disafforestation and sale of rain-fed irrigation tanks, whatever the immediate advantage, killed the goose that lays golden eggs. His greatest gift was loyalty and his period was in his own words "a period of storm and stress, doubt and difficulty, anxiety and apprehension."

Mr. Raghaviah who succeeded him was a bureawrat; yet he looked at things dispassionately and sympathised with the new spirit in citizenship. He liberalized the Council by doubling its former strength with a non-official majority. Members were given the right of moving resolutions, putting supplementary questions and voting for budget grants. Women were for the first time given the right of voting. The Maharaja recognised the need for the wider outlook in keeping with the growing political consciousness of his subjects.

Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah (1920-25)

Another measure of outstanding importance was the separation of the Devaswam from the revenue department.

Ever since the assumption of temples by Government during the Resident-Dewan administration of Col. Munro the properties of the assumed temples came to be treated as Sircar. As such, the control of the Devaswam vested in the revenue department. In course of time this arrangement imposed upon the non-Hindu section of the people a ban for admission to the higher ranks of the revenue department, while the management of the temples themselve fell into discredit. In response to the insistent clamour of the non-Hindus for lifting the ban on their employment in the revenue department and in the interests of the temples, a Royal Proclamation was issued in 1922 by which the control of Devaswams was taken away from

Separation of the Devaswam department

the revenue department and transferred to a separate department of Devaswams created exclusively for their administration. The Devaswam properties which had been inextricably mixed with Sircar ones could not be restored to the Devaswam department. Hence by way of compensation, the State undertook to make an annual contribution of sixteen lakhs of rupees towards the Devaswam fund.

The Maharaja was a constitutional sovereign. He fully kept himself abreast of the times. He had the gift of ruling and ruled well and long. In his time the State was placed in direct political relation with the Government of India, represented by the Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States.

He died on 16th August 1924 with the conscious satisfaction of having brought immense relief to the people distressed by a great flood in that year—the greatest within living memory. With his death we come to the end of a great epoch.

CHAPTER XVI

REGENCY OF MAHARANI SETHU LAKSHMI BAI (1924-31)

The sovereignty devolved upon his nephew, the present Ruler. He was duly installed as Maharaja on the 1st September 1924. But he had not come to man's estate. Hence a Regency was created. It fell on Maharani Sethu Lakshmi Bai—his aunt and elder of the two princesses adopted in 1900. It was the second regency in recent times. The first was a hundred years ago.

Raghaviah continued as Dewan for a year. His administrative changes were many. Most of them fell into desuetude as they were not suited to local conditions disregard of which failed him to face an emergency in Travancore as in Pudukotta. On his retirement, Mr. M. E. Watts was appointed as his successor. He was the second Christian Dewan. The separation of the temples from the State in the last reign made such an appointment possible. Watts was the son of a former Secretary who had served the State for a long time. The Christians looked upon his appointment as the birth of a new power; the Hindus looked upon it as the break of an old one. Watts had the sagacity to live down both the fears by his great level-headedness and sense of fair-play. He distinguished between narrow non-essentials of routine and broad essentials of policy and launched schemes for the material development of the State. He enlarged the

arteries of communication by opening two trunk roads between Alleppey and Shertala and between Nerya-mangalam and Pallivasal. He provided Trivandrum with protected water-supply and electric light.

He extended the railway to the heart of the capital and projected feeder lines. He opened up every nook and corner of the country by a system of roads, canals and bridges and paved the way for industrial development. He did it all in three years. He took however a narrow view in his memo to the Indian States Committee and declared that "Travancore had no desire to claim a voice in the constitutional bodies set up for the governance of British India" and that "she was content to move in her own orbit with the paramouut power as the solar centre." On his retirement Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subra-manya Iyer stepped in as Dewan. He strove to fight the economic depression and improve banking. But he retired soon.

During the Regency period the Maharani carried out to the best of her ability the sacred trust committed to her care. She stopped animal sacrifices and the Devadasi system in temples. She handled a delicate situation as the Vaikom Satyagraha with consummate tact during Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Travancore at the height of the campaign.

It was when Lord Willingdon became Viceroy that the Government of India decided to invest the young Maha-raja with ruling powers. The Viceroy subsequently visited the State to bless its young ruler and his promising rule.

HER HIGHNESS MAHARANI SETU PARVATI BAI.
(Mother of His Highness the Maharaja)

HER HIGHNESS
PRINCESS KARTHIKA THIRUNAL.

CHAPTER XVII

SRI CHITHIRA TIRUNAL SIR RAMA VARMA (1931) HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA

His Highness the Maharaja was born on 7th November 1912. He ascended the musnud on the 1st September 1924. During his minority Her Highness the Senior Maharani held the office of Regent. On the 6th November 1931 His Highness the Maharaja was invested with ruling powers.

To the high talents that nature has endowed him with, a remarkable course of administrative training which His Highness the Maharaja has had under two British Indian Civilians coupled with a knowledge of day-to-day administration gained on the spot in different States under their experienced eye, has added not a little towards an efficient equipment such as no ruler in Travancore has ever had before. How bright and full of promise is the beginning of His Highness's rule will be amply manifest from the following bare statement of events since his investiture.

(1) Creation of the Land Mortgage Bank with a donation of Rs. one lakh from the privy purse to help forward the agriculturists.

(2) Donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Home for Poor Relief in order to wipe out vagrancy.

(3) Appointment of Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, first as constitutional adviser, and then as Dewan.

(4) Taking stock of the amassed treasure in temple vaults.

(5) Arrangement for an All-India News Service at concessional rates.

(6) Recognition of Travancore's claims to one-third harbour profits at Cochin harbour.

(7) Removal of obsolete political obligations such as the British Resident's sanction for appointments above Rs. 500; for execution of capital sentences; and for legislative enactments.

(8) Grant of State-right to separate representation at the Round Table Conference as a result of the Queen mother's visit to England.

(9) Removal of all ban on temple entry.

(10) Re-transfer of Devaswam control from the Commissioner to the Dewan.

(11) Appointment of a Public Service Commission; a committee for the preservation of old vernacular records; an education commission; and an economic committee.

(12) Arrangements for the hydro-electric scheme at Pallivasal.

(13) Abolition of the Medical Administration Board.

(14) Assignment of lands to the depressed classes free of ground-value and timber-value, exceeding Rs. 10.

(15) Scientific town-planning and palace architecture.

(16) Royal proclamation on constitutional changes.

(17) Introduction of a compassionate gratuity scheme for the benefit of the family of Government servants dying in harness or within a year of retirement.

(18) Constitution of Debt Conciliation Boards.

(19) Establishment of the Chitralayam Art Gallery.

(20) Establishment of the Travancore University.

Since the accession of His Highness the Maharaja, both the Popular Assembly and the Legislative Council have been reconstituted under Regulation II of 1108 M. E. The reform of the Assembly involved the reform of the Legislative Council also. And the present reform of both is on the basis of a comprehensive scheme calculated to co-ordinate the functions of both the bodies in a manner most conducive to the interests of the State.

The New Constitution

The new constitution consists of two Chambers—the Sri Mulam Assembly and the Sri Chithirai State Council. The Sri Mulam Assembly consists of 72 members—62 non-officials and 10 officials. Of the 62 non-officials 43 are elected by territorial constituencies; 5 elected by constituencies of special interest; and 12 reserved for representation of communities. The Dewan is the President and the Deputy President is elected by the Assembly (with a panel of chairmen to be nominated).

The State Council consists of 37 members (27 non-officials and 10 officials). Of the 27 non-officials, 16 are elected from general constituencies, 6 elected from special constituencies; and 5 nominated.

Both chambers are competent to initiate and pass legislation which to become law requires the assent of both. There is a joint committee to arbitrate over differences of opinion. There is also a public accounts committee to deal with audit and appropriation of accounts. The new constitution is in fulfilment of His Highness the Maharaja's acclaimed announce-

ment at the Investiture Darbar. The new constitution has provided for the re-assessment of the values of both the Assembly and the Council on a fresh basis of bicameral interaction and healthy reciprocity.

The distinctive features of the new constitution are :—(1) Exercise by women of equal right of voting; (2) removal of restrictions in regard to general subjects of public concern; (3) lowering of property qualification; (4) removal of restriction on eligibility; (5) eschewing of communal electorates; (6) representation of minority interests by nomination; (7) introduction of facultative representation for particular communities; (8) elimination of adult suffrage as a means of serving sectional interests; (9) appointment of a joint committee of arbitration between the two chambers in matters of differences; (10) appointment of a public accounts committee for audit and appropriation of accounts. There was at the outset some discontent among Christians, owing to some disparity in the formation of constituencies. It gave rise to what is known as *Nivertanam* or abstention movement which ceased as soon as the balance of interests was revised and restored.

Local Self-Government

The State has nineteen municipalities for civic administration. The work of the municipal councils concerns the people closely. The members are elected for definite wards and they serve for a term of years and are eligible for re-election. The Council works under the provisions of the Municipal Regulation. The Presidents of all the Councils are elected non-official members, except in Trivandrum where the Pre-

sident is a paid official nominated by Government. The municipal bodies contain in all over 300 members of whom nearly two-thirds are elected and the rest (inclusive of Government servants) are nominated. The urban area extends to over a hundred square miles and the councils serve a population of nearly 3½ lakhs. Some municipalities maintain night schools and middle schools for girls. Training in midwifery and nursing is given in a few. Houses for the poor are provided by some. Maintenance of markets is a marked feature of municipal activities. The municipalities offer the citizen a wide opportunity of service in a large number of ways. Efficient service, however, depends upon his level of knowledge and interest in local affairs and readiness to bear the burden of public work. Sectional interests and local jealousies are its dangers.

But as observed by His Highness the Maharaja with an anxious interest in the development of the municipalities on sound lines, "much has to be achieved in the direction of making the municipalities real forces and centres of civic endeavour in all directions, in public health and sanitary progress, in education and in the beautification of the towns."

The Temple Entry Proclamation

By the Devaswam separation, Sri Mulam Tirunal Maharaja broke the religious barrier between public service in the State and non-caste Hindu and other subjects of the realm. By the Temple Entry Proclamation Sri Chithira Tirunal Maharaja broke the religious barrier between religious service in the temples and all denominations of Hindus. It has for its back-

ground the inherent adaptability of Hinduism to changing conditions in every stage and age of human evolution. The movement has on its fore-ground the removal of social evils of untouchability with implications towards the unity of Hindus as a whole.

The Proclamation is a unique document worthy of the enlightened wisdom of the Maharaja. It enunciates the principles on which the Hindu religious institutions in Travancore are being maintained; explains the exact position of the Government and embodies the future policy with respect to the work and welfare of those institutions. Of the several proclamations that have been issued from time to time, since the accession of the Maharaja, none can equal this in the magnitude of its importance or in the far-reaching results with which it is fraught. It tackles a problem of centuries which has perplexed and baffled successive attempts in the past.

As observed by the present Prime Minister of Madras it is a great and wonderful achievement for which the Maharaja is indebted both to his accomplished mother, the Maharani, who has raised the dignity of womanhood and his minister, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. His first Dewan was a European Indian Civilian and the next one a Muhammadan of parts with an All-India reputation. The present is his third Dewan. They have all created ideal conditions for progress. Many things have been attempted and many things have been done. We are too near to assess their value in true historical perspective. Two things stand out head and shoulders above the rest. One is the constitutional advance under the expanding activities of

the two popular Chambers—the Sri Chithirai State Council and the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. Here he has removed the barrier between people in the political service of the State. The opening of the State temples to all classes of Hindus is another great measure of far-reaching importance. Here he has removed the barrier between Hindu and Hindu in the religious service of the temple. It is an All-India problem and has a vital bearing on all Hindus alike. It is only a symbol of his launching out into the wide sea of modernism.

In view of the heterogeneous character of the people the Temple Entry Proclamation may seem a wonder-work. There is no magic about it except the magic of the ruler's pledge 'to ameliorate the lot of all classes of the subjects and to enable them to rise to the full stature in every sphere of life.' He stands up for what he believes. In this belief, he became "approachable" and 'touchable' to all sections of people alike. There was an amazing response. They support him in his efforts to secure their welfare in all directions.

The same is the case with the educational reform which is intimately connected with the economic problem of unemployment. Educational reform is the talk everywhere and different schemes are being tried in different places. The general objective is to wipe out illiteracy. But in Travancore which educationally stands in the fore-front, even ahead of British India, the problem is to relieve unemployment brought on by phenomenal progresss in education. The economic struggle is no less keen among the academic groups than among the agrarian groups. The reform is therefore

based on an economic planning. H. G. Wells, the greatest intellectual and inspired force in the modern English-speaking world, affirms that 'the most urgent need of the world to-day is for an overhaul of education to bring it into line with the knowledge that scientific research has made available.' This is just what the new Travancore University now brought into being seeks to do.

The objects with which the University has been created are threefold—to reorganize the system of education with a view to the development of its technical and technological side; to promote original researches in applied science; to conserve and help forward Kerala art and culture.

As a result of State encouragement and private enterprise, there are nearly four thousand educational institutions in Travancore, that is, in other words, one school for every two square miles of area. The position the State has attained in the matter of education (elementary, secondary and University) is far higher than that in many parts of India. There are six State-owned colleges at present—the Arts College, the Science College, the Women's College, the Training College, the Law College and the Sanskrit College. Besides these, there are four private owned Colleges at Nagercoil, Kottayam, Changanacheri, and Alwaye. All these ten institutions have been affiliated to the new University.

The University holds three bodies in power—the Senate to direct and control, a Syndicate to manage, and various faculties to advise the Syndicate and the Senate.

The Maharaja is the Chancellor and Her Highness the Maharani Sethu Parvati Bai, the Pro-Chancellor upon

Sachivottama SIR C. P. RAMASWAMY IYER,
Dewan of Travancore.

each of whom the Andhra University has deservedly conferred the honorary degree of D. Litt. The Dewan is the Pro-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Besides the ex-officio members the Senate is to have life-members from among eminent men and contributors of not less than Rs. 10,000 to the University Fund. It is to have also a few elected members to represent the corps of registered graduates and the Assembly and the State Council.

The formation of a Central Research Institute is a special feature. It is to work through all existing departments to bring all laboratory units of these departments under a unified control. The Institute is to render scientific service to government departments. It is an integral part of the new University's work and seeks to establish close co-ordination between the several departments. The University lays down a well-thought out plan which (without reproducing the evil effects of the factory system) will help to industrialise the State and not only give secondary occupations to the families of land-holders and agriculturists but also open fresh and useful careers to the middle-class unemployed.

It is to support the industrialisation in different directions that the State has embarked upon the hydro-electric scheme at Pallivasal, now close upon completion. It is a big scheme calculated to do for Travancore what the Pykara and the Mettur projects have done for Tanjore. The Pallivasal Falls are in the Mudirapuzha river which is a tributary of the Periyar, the largest river in the

State. The total head available is nearly two thousand feet. It is distributed over three miles of water course. The water of the river is diverted by head-works at Munnar. The water is led therefrom through a tunnel across the mountains and taken to the power-house by two penstocks. The lines constructed provide for the transmission to Kothamangalam and from there to Alwaye and to Pallam and then to Kundara as far as Trivandrum, with a net-work to distribute power to all important towns and villages for industrial development, and for agricultural purposes, such as pumping and drainage so much needed in the large and low-lying *punja* fields of Kuttanad in Central Travancore. By giving stimulus to existing industries and facilities for opening up new ones such as textiles, the project materially helps forward the economic enrichment of the State. The industries and enterprises which the supply of electric energy is bound to create will no doubt absorb candidates trained by the new University for industrial careers and give employment in every walk of life.

The constitutional reforms have pooled more of the democratic element than in most of the States. The temple entry is more spacious and of wider significance of all-India concern. The University gives a new orientation to educational efforts. The new industrialisation gives a new orientation to economic effort. With the new reign has come a new order, a comprehensive programme of progress in keeping with the demands of the

times. To the enlightened young ruler advised and aided by his worthy mother and his worthy minister is entirely due the broadening outlook which looks at and grapples with the State problems in terms of larger issues.

They are little short of adjustments demanded by the times. Her Highness Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai has made it plain by the pregnant parable that the flame of progress depends for sustenance on the combustion of the dry wood that has lived its life. True to this principle Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has jettisoned many things that have outlived their usefulness. With a progressive programme His Highness the Maharaja is advancing in every direction in a manner conducive to the stability of the State and the happiness of his subjects.

APPENDIX I

TREATY OF 1795 RATIFIED IN 1797

On the 17th November 1795 a Treaty of perpetual alliance was concluded between the Honourable English East India Company and the Rajah of Travancore of which the following were the terms :—

" Article 1. Before the breaking out of the last war between the Honourable Company and Tippoo Sultan, the three talooks of Paroor, Alumgar, and Koonatnaar, made part of the Rajah of Travancore's country, and having by the said Sultan been included in his cessions to the Honourable Company by the Treaty of Peace of the 18th of March 1792, the said Company do, in view to their ancient friendship with and the plea of right preferred by the Rajah of Travancore, renounce every claim that they may have to the talooks in question, and all the said three talooks are accordingly left on the former footing as part of the said Rajah's country.

" 2. If any power or States, near or remote, by sea or land, shall, without aggression on the part of the Rajah of Travancore, attempt or begin hostility and war upon the country of the said Rajah or of his successors ; under such circumstances, the expulsion of, and the protection of the country against, such enemies rest with the Company's Government.

" 3. In consideration of the stipulation in the second Article, the Rajah of Travancore doth engage for himself and his successors to pay annually at Anjengo, both in peace and war, a sum equivalent to the expense of three of the Honourable Company's battalions of sepoys, together with a company of European artillery and two companies of Lascars.

" 4. The Company stipulate that this force of infantry and artillery shall, if the Rajah desire it, always be stationed in his country, or on the frontiers near it, or in any other part within

the Company's possessions where he shall prefer; and that they shall always be in readiness; and in respect to such requisitions as the Rajah and his successors may have occasion to address to the officer in command of these troops, to proceed to act against foreign enemies who shall have invaded the said Rajah's country, it is proper that such commanding officer stand previously furnished with instructions from the Government of that Presidency when he shall have been detached; or otherwise, he is immediately on such requisition to procure instructions and the sanction of his said superiors for repelling such invasion; but in the event of theRajah's country being so unexpectedly invaded by an enemy that the urgency of the danger or attack from without shall not admit of deferring the necessary operations till the orders of the Government of such Presidency can be received, the commanding officer is, under such circumstances, to apply immediately and without objection the force under his command to the defence and protection of the Rajah and his successors; and should it so happen that the aforesaid force and the Rajah's own army be at any time found unequal to cope with and defend the country against the superior force of the enemy, the expense of such further troops as it may be necessary and requisite for the Company to furnish in such instances, is to be altogether at the said Company's cost; nor shall their Government in any wise object to furnish such additional force, the expense of which shall in no respect be chargeable on the Rajah or his successors; nor shall the Company ever apply for or demand any sum on that account nor possess any plea or claim to make any further requisition for pecuniary aid from the Rajah or his successors, by reason of any warfare or hostility that may hereafter eventually occur.

"5. As the Company do only engage to defend and protect the country dependent on the Rajah of Travancore against unprovoked attacks; it is therefore to be clearly and distinctly understood between the parties that the Rajahs, present and future, are not to commit any hostile aggression towards any other State whether Indian or European; and in the event of the Rajah or his successors having any disputes of a political nature or tendency, it is necessary that the same shall be transmitted by the latter to the Honourable Company's Government, who

will determine thereon according to justice and policy and mutual concert,

"6. The reigning Rajah of Travancore for the time being shall not keep in his service, in any civil or military capacity, nor allow to remain within his dominions as merchants, or under any other plea or pretext, the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company; nor under any circumstances of peace or war allow any European to obtain settlements (*i e.*, territory or places under his own authority) within the same, nor enter into any new engagements with any European or Indian States without the previous concurrence of the British Government in India.

"7. When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war; it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country, which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut; and to be, during such service, at the Company's expense and under their orders.

"8. That the pepper contract with the Company shall continue in perpetuity, liable, however, after the expiration of the period of the existing contract, to such modifications as to price, period, or quantity, as may, from time to time, be agreed upon between the parties.

"9. The Company engage not to impede in any wise the course of the rule or of administration of the Rajah of Travancore's Government; nor at all to possess themselves or enter upon any part of what regards the management of the present Rajah's or his successor's country. At the same time it is provided that all the former agreements between the Honourable Company and the Rajah of Travancore, relative to the settlements of Anjengo and Eddowa or Erawa, and to the Company's privileges in respect

to trade throughout the Rajah's dominions, remain in full force, according to the practice hitherto; and as otherwise the object of this Treaty is principally to provide for the purposes of external defence, it bears therefore no reference whatever to the Rajah's situation as a tributary to the Carnatic, concerning which the Rajah of Travancore doth in the sincerity of his heart, of his own accord, acknowledge and declare that in the line of his former fealty, as from of old established, towards the Circar of the soubah of Arcot, there shall never occur any difference or deviation.

" 10. All unsettled claims of a pecuniary nature which the contracting parties may have had upon each other, relative to warlike expenses, up to the period of the conclusion of the Treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, under date the 18th of March 1792, shall be cancelled and declared null and void.

" 11. The Company engage that none of the Rajahs of Malabar under their jurisdiction shall be allowed to commit excesses in the country, or to encroach on the rights of the Rajah of Travancore or of his successors; and both the contracting parties engage not to give shelter to the rebels, whosoever they may be, of either of the two States within the country of Malabar: but on the contrary to seize on and mutually to deliver up such persons.

" 12. On the commercial vessels of the said Rajah's frequenting any of the ports in India appertaining to the Honourable Company, they shall obtain every requisite assistance and supply on paying for the same; and in like manner the Honourable Company's ships shall experience the like assistance and supply in the ports and roads of his country."

This Treaty was slightly amended in 1797 thus :—

" Whereas, in the 7th Article of the above Treaty, the following words occur, ' which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut ', and these terms being deemed not sufficiently expres-

sive of the intentions of the contracting parties; they hereby mutually agree that the words 'and the boundary of the Cavae' be added immediately after the word 'Calicut', and that accordingly the said Article stand as follows:

"Article 7. When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry, and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country, which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut and the boundary of the Cavae, and to be during such service at the Company's expense and under their orders.

"The above treaty having been transmitted to the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for their confirmation, agreeable to the stipulation therein contained, and the Honourable Court having expressed their assent to the several Articles of the said Treaty, including the amended Article subjoined to the original Articles, the said Treaty is hereby ratified by me and my signature, at Trevandrum in the country of Travancore, this 21st day of the month of July, in the year one-thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven of the Christian era or the nineth day of the month Aru in the year nine hundred and twenty-two Malabar style."*

* Aitchison's Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. V, page 310.

APPENDIX II

TREATY OF 1805 RATIFIED IN 1809

"Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor, and the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor, Rajah of Travancore."

"Whereas the Treaty, concluded in the year 1795 between the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and His late Highness the Rajah of Travancore, was intended to defend and protect the Travancore country against foreign enemies, and to strengthen and fix the terms of the ancient friendship and alliance subsisting between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore; and Whereas it is evident that the intentions of the contracting parties have not been duly fulfilled; and Whereas the said Company and the Rajah of Travancore have judged it expedient that additional provisions should at this time be made for the purpose of supplying the defects in the said Treaty, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come: Therefore, in order to carry into effect the said intentions, the present Treaty is concluded by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, the Resident at Travancore, on the part and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K.P. and K.C., Governor General in Council of all the British possessions in the East Indies, and by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore for himself, agreeably to the following Articles, which shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

"Article 1. The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both; the Honourable Company especially engaging to defend and protect the territories of the Rajah of Travancore against all enemies whatsoever.

"2. Whereas by the seventh Article of the Treaty concluded in the year 1795 between the Ram Rajah Bahadoor and the English East India Company Bahadoor, it was stipulated that "when the Company shall require any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the Native Nayrs of his country," and the Company being now willing entirely to release the Rajah from the obligation incurred under the said stipulation; it is hereby concluded and agreed that the Ram Rajah Bahadoor is for ever discharged from the aforesaid burdensome obligation.

"3. In consideration of the stipulation and release contained in the first and second Articles, whereby the Company becomes liable to heavy and constant expense, while great relief is afforded to the finances of the Rajah, His Highness engages to pay annually to the said Company a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry in addition to the sum now payable for the force subsidised by the third Article of the subsidiary Treaty of 1795; the said amount to be paid in six equal instalments to commence from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and five; and His said Highness further agrees that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, whether stationed within the Travancore country or within the Company's limits, shall be left entirely to the Company.

"4. Should it become necessary for the Company to employ a larger force than that which is stipulated for in the preceding Article, to protect the territories of the said Maharajah against attack or invasion, His Highness agrees to contribute jointly with the Company towards the discharge of the increased expense thereby occasioned such a sum as shall appear on an attentive consideration of the means of His said Highness to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of His Highness.

"5. And whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the

funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses described in the preceding Article of the present Treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that whenever the Governor General in Council of Fort William in Bengal shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor General in Council shall be at liberty and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of Travancore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadoor such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor as shall appear to him, the said Governor General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war.

"6. And it is hereby further agreed that, whenever the said Governor General in Council shall signify to the said Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the fifth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amils or other officers, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances according to the tenor of the fifth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor; and in case His Highness shall not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders by his own authority either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people: Provided always that, whenever and so long as any part or parts of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive

authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed: Provided also that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income, arising out of his territorial revenue, be less than the sum of two lakhs of Rupees, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of his territories, which sum of two lakhs of Rupees, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages at all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

"7. His Higness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor, or of any State whatever; and for securing the object of this stipulation it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign State whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadoor.

"8. His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his seivice without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor, and that he will apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans of whatever description, who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the English Government; it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer even for a day any European to remain within his territories unless by consent of the said Company.

"9. Such parts of the Treaty of Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and ninty five (1795). between the English East India Company and the late Rajah of Travancore, as are calculated to strengthen the alliance, to cement the friendship, and to identify the interests of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and confirmed; and accordingly His Highness hereby

promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

"10. This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, being this day, the twelth day of January one thousand eight hundred and five, settled and concluded at the fortress of Teeroovanandapooram in Travancore by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, on behalf and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K.P and K.C., Governor General in Council, with the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor; he has delivered to the said Maharajah one copy of the same in English and Persian signed and sealed by him, and His Highness has delivered to the Lieutenant Colonel aforesaid another copy, also in Persian and English, bearing his seal and signature, and signed and sealed by Valoo Tomby, Dewan to the Maharajah; and the Lieutenant Colonel aforesaid has engaged to procure and deliver to the said Maharajah, without delay, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the said Maharajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on the Honourable the English East India Company and on the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor of Travancore, and the copy of it now delivered to the said Maharajah shall be returned." *

This Treaty still remains in force.

* Aitchison's Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. V, Page 315.

APPENDIX III

VELU TAMPI'S PROCLAMATION, 1809

" Whereas it is highly desirable to impress in the minds of the nobles, Brahmans, officers of the State, Sudras, and all other classes of the nation, a clear idea of the nature and probable results of the measure now resolved upon as necessitated by the present critical occasion in which it is inevitable that Travancore cannot maintain itself unless its utmost energies are put forth, it is hereby promulgated :

" That, never has this State been yet disturbed with any troubles nor subjected to question during the several thousand years comprising the period from the foundation of Malabar and Travancore by Parasu Ramen up to the close of Cheraman Peramal's reign, nor during the sovereignty of the succeeding Thripada * Swaroopam Dynasty.

" That, the Maharajah who died in 933 M.E., foreseeing the evil days to come, and that his successor will not be able to keep the land, entrusted to their care safe from harm, made a gift of it, in due form (with flower and water) to Sree Padmanabha Swamy, aud the country was to be governed by the succeeding Rajahs as the representatives of Padmanabha Swamy. In keeping within such a position, they preferred the practice of religious rites, austerities, to the personal enjoyment of worldly pleasure, and were always bent upon the welfare and happiness of the subjects ; and in order that the virtues and benefits accruing from such observance may always continue unabated, they initiated several religious ceremonies and practices for securing divine favour, established Bhadradeepam, Murajapam, sathrams or feeding houses, &c. Every one knows that it is for these reasons that in the present Kaliyuga there is not a single country from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin which can rival

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* Means the Royal Family of Travancore.

Travancore as a land of charity. When Mahomed Ali had subdued and established his power at Arcot, Trichinopoly and the Deccan, it was stipulated that Travancore should send him an annual Nazoor of (6,000) six thousand Rupees and an elephant to preserve friendly relations with him, and the country has not been interfered with by any other power. While the land was thus in peace and tranquillity, two great powers appeared: Tippoo Sultan and the English East India Company. It was believed that of the two, the English East India Company was more to be relied on, and that they would not betray their trust, and in view to secure their friendship and assistance a very long time ago, they were allowed to build a fort and to establish themselves at Anjengo, and this led to hostilities breaking out with Tippoo Sultan, but we have known to our cost how our trust was betrayed, and our friendliness taken advantage of to bring harm upon us by this very English nation, who, as is well known to the whole world, is unequalled for base ingratitude and treachery. Now see, what they have done. They gradually curtailed the power of the Nabob who gave them shelter and helped so much towards attaining their present importance, till they had destroyed his dynasty entirely and taken away his territories ; next they laid hold of the neighbouring countries which were enjoying peace and comfort until at last the lights of their dwellings were extinguished, and themselves plunged into misery, and following up their treacherous inclination the English came over to Travancore : first, by craft, and then forcibly, they have taken steps to exterminate us from our land. We shall briefly mention here a few of the steps pursued by them : When Tippoo Sultan made war upon us, we sought their aid against him ; they treacherously got out of us, taking advantage of our exigency, ten lacs of pagodas in return for the promised help. After this, partly by craft and partly by threats, they stipulated that we should pay them an annual subsidy of six lacs of Rupees promising at the same time that so long as Travancore and the English nation existed they would not ask for a chuckrum over and above the said sum, nor interfere with any act, however unimportant of the Travancore Government, and these terms were solemnly ratified in writing by the treaty of the year 968. While Travancore had been faith-

fully adhering to fulfil in all integrity the terms of the treaty, the English in violation of it, sent a Resident to reside here, and stationed three of their Regiments at Quilon, and like giving milk to a serpent, this Government had to build at its own cost barracks and dwelling-houses for the men of the Regiments, and in addition to put up to this day with all the acts of violence practised by them. A little after, in Magaram 980 the English Government demanded that two lacs of Rupees should be annually paid, beyond the sum stipulated before, and threatened in failure of this extra requisition being paid, to make war upon us, and actually brought down several pieces of cannon into different parts of the country. Seeing no other means of getting over the difficult position the Government of His Highness yielded to the inpending calamitous fate and paid the extra two lacs also. But the English Government were not satisfied even with all these concessions, and the point they next assumed reached the unreasonable and unwarrantable climax, of requiring the abolition of all religious and charitable institutions, and the disbanding of the armies of the country and payment to themselves of the money that would be saved thereby ; it was required further that the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, should be consulted and communicated with in all matters connected with the Government of His Highness' territories. In reply, the English Government was respectfully informed that according to the constitution of this country these demands could not be complied with, and our humbling ourselves to the very ground was of no avail. The English Government was inexorable, as we have been always opposed to these measures, and had taken active steps against them ; we got a letter in Dhanu last from the English East India Company requesting us to resign our post and to quit Travancore, along with the whole of our family and some of the officials who had joined us, and to reside in British territory, and we were promised in the event of our complying with the request that every mark of respect and honor would be paid to us, the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, thereafter intending to introduce reforms and practically administer the Government. We were at the same time informed that we should be the cause of war being declared, in case we delayed to agree to the conditions stated in

the letter, the contents of which we were required to bring at once to the notice of His Highness the Maharajah. We did not hesitate to reply that we should not, even should our refusal cost our life, be guilty of such treason to our sovereign and country, and once for all spurned the proposals made to us. The Resident, Colonel Macaulay, thereupon and without having the slightest consideration or respect for the sovereign of Travancore or giving the least intimation, brought by the sea and landed a number of European soldiers to Quilon and shipped back all the European women and children that were there, with all their property, and unjustly commenced war with Travancore. It had never before been nor is it now our intention to break out into war with the English. But now that they have begun the war, if we do not adopt prompt measures in our defence or on gaining the first success, if we do not at once avail ourselves of them to follow up the victory, we should lose all advantages we had gained and the consequences would be that hardships would befall us such as not a single soul in this country would be able to bear and pass his days. We shall give a few instances of those hardships and miseries.

" It is the nature of the English nation to get possession of countries by treacherous means, and should they obtain ascendancy in Travancore, they will put their own guards in the palaces, Sircar buildings, and the fort gates, destroy the royal seal, do away with honorific palanquins, and other distinguishing marks, suppress the Brahmanical communities and worship in pagodas, make monopolies of salt and every other thing, measure up and assert themselves absolute owners of waste lands, impose exorbitant taxes on paddy lands, cocoanut trees, &c., get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christian flags in pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahman women without reference to caste or creed, and practise all the unjust and unlawful things which characterize Kaliyuga.

"Let us therefore exert ourselves to keep off impending calamities such as those we have sketched above, and endeavour so far as lies in our power that no disparagement or discredit may be imputed to us in guarding our homes, the charitable institutions, and the manners and customs of our land. The rest, of course, we must leave to the divine will. These measures which we have enumerated are incumbent upon us to adopt to defend ourselves against the action taken by the English."*

* Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore, pages 339-43.

APPENDIX IV

TRAVANCORE IN 1809 AS DESCRIBED IN THE RECORDS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

"No description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of the system, full of activity and energy in everything mischievous, oppressive and infamous, but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. This body of public officers, united with each other on fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against one of their number, as an attack upon the whole. Their pay was very small, and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorised exactions made by themselves. They offered, on receiving their appointment, large nuzzers to the Rajah, and had afterwards to make presents, on days of public solemnity, that exceeded the half of their pay. They realised, in the course of two or three years, large sums of money and were generally subjected to a complete confiscation of their property for the benefit of the State. The Rajah, therefore, imposed no restraint on their rapacity, aware that their plunder would be transferred to his own treasury. Nor does it appear that this consideration had any effect in checking their extortions: they calculated upon being able to conceal their property during their lives, and felt little concern as to the mode of its disposal after their death. On the part of the people, complaint was useless, redress hopeless; they had only one remedy, and that was bribery. This practice was universal, and it was one of the melancholy circumstances in the situation of the people, that one of the greatest evils was necessarily resorted to as a good, to mitigate the still more intolerable grievances of injustice and oppression. Innocence was protected, justice obtained, and right secured by bribes. There were also still more efficacious means of injury, and their universal use produced an extraordinary spirit of avarice in the country; for every man endeavoured to have a secret hoard of money, as the best protection of his liberty, property and life."*

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* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company—Political, page 276.

APPENDIX V

SWATI TIRUNAL RAMA VARMA'S COMPLAINT TO THE GOVERNOR IN 1843

"MY LORD,

"With due deference I beg to lay the following statement before Your Lordship, and hope you will kindly excuse the intrusion on your precious time, because my painful struggles against an unprecedented interference of the Resident at my Court in the affairs of my Government having harassed my mind to a degree inexpressible, have at last driven me to the necessity of thus seeking Your Lordship's protection and support in the time of need.

"I beg to inform Your Lordship, that soon after the present Resident arrived here, he began to exercise a want of confidence in my Dewan Soobrow. Here I think a few words necessary concerning this individual against whom the Resident seemed entirely prejudiced. Soobrow is an old and devoted servant of mine, having served me more than twenty-two years, in the capacity of my tutor first, and in that of Dewan afterwards; he by his conduct not only gained my esteem and confidence, but the highest good opinion of several Residents at my Court. It is against this old and respected servant of mine, that General Cullen began to show marks of his dislike and aversion, at the instigation and ill-persuasion, from self-interested motives apparently, of a person named Kristna Row, a young Gentoo Brahmin about thirty years of age who accompanied him from Madras.

"The Dewan Soobrow, although a man of advanced age, found no difficulty in carrying on the public business with benefit to the State, when duly supported as usual by the Resident; but in consequence of the total withdrawal of this support, and knowing that without it no possible exertions of his would give satisfaction, he frequently besought me to relieve him from his

fruitless fatigues in the public affairs; but fully aware as I was that the public interest would suffer by his retirement, I did not accede to his solicitations.

" The Resident at this time recommended to me and to the Dewan, his own servant Kristna Row, to be employed as a Deputy Peishcar. The Dewan actuated by a wish to gain the goodwill of the Resident by a compliance with his request spoke to me on the subject; but I first decidedly objected to the appointment of Kristna Row from an apprehension that the measure would soon produce a spirit of insubordination and affect the power of the Dewan, as was experienced here before on similar occasions, but at last however, hoping that my compliance with the wish of the Resident might dispose him to entertain a better feeling towards my Dewan, I consented to appoint Kristna Row as a third or extra Deputy Peishcar, there being already two others employed.

"As soon however as he was appointed, that I had anticipated came to pass, Kristna Row getting a party of intriguing persons both in the Sircar's employ and otherwise, began to undermine the Dewan's authority by encouraging false complaints, &c., and were I to mention here all the anxieties and troubles which the Dewan suffered from Kristna Row's machination and the latter's influence with the Resident, it would be a detail too long for a letter, suffice it, therefore, to say that the Dewan's authority was completely usurped and set at defiance by various devices made use of by the party against him. At this crisis the Resident addressed me a memo in official form, but without signature, containing some frivolous and unfounded charges against the Dewan and urged me to relieve him from the office; but while I was about to send my reply to it in refutation of every unfounded allegation it contained, I received a letter from General Cullen stating that I need not take the trouble of answering it, as it was merely intended for my private information.

"The two-fold object of these two communications may now be easily perceived, *viz.*, first, if the Resident had received my reply in an official form, he must then have been obliged to communicate it to the Madras Government which I have great reason

to believe, is not at all General Cullen's policy ; but that he endeavours to keep the Government perfectly ignorant of what passes here. Secondly, by sending to the Government a copy of the memo he had the facility of intimating that my silence arose merely from my inability to confute his accusations. Thus under a mark of solicitude for my convenience, the deep design of gradually subverting and assuming my power is to me quite manifest.

" This explanation of the *finesse* of the Resident did not occur to my mind at that time, or notwithstanding his second letter, I would have forwarded my reply to the said memo and requested him to bring the same to the notice of the Government. From a perusal of a copy of the Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Government which the Resident subsequently sent me, I learnt to my great astonishment, that he had informed the Government that I was determined to relieve the Dewan, both on account of his old age and inefficiency. Here, My Lord, I most positively assert that neither did such an idea enter into my head, nor in any conference with General Cullen, have I ever spoken anything ambiguous so as to have led him to construe my meaning to that effect. On the contrary I have repeatedly expressed my satisfaction at the Dewan's conduct ; but unluckily either my voice is too feeble to convey my sentiments, on account of his badness of hearing, to the Resident, or he thinks proper to misrepresent them to the Government.

" It is natural that the Government knowing only from the *ex parte* statements of the Resident, should furnish him with an extract of the Minutes of Consultation to the effect that the Government concurs with me in my determination of relieving the Dewan on account of infirmity and inefficiency. The Resident in forwarding a copy of this document for my information strongly urged me to relieve the Dewan from his office. When I saw the said extract the truth at once flashed upon my mind, that the Government was perfectly misinformed as to the state of my affairs, and I resolved immediately to address the Government on the subject. But the Dewan, dejected and weighed down by his ill-treatment, dissuaded me from doing so, stating as a reason that no aggravation of mutual bad feeling between me and the Resident should take place on his account. He then

again urged me to accept his resignation of office, which I at last did on the 14th June last granting him a suitable pension for his long and faithful services. I then at his suggestion put Kristna Row in charge of the public affairs, as a temporary measure, and for reasons easily guessed, by way of trial to see whether he would prove to be adequate to this task; but his subsequent behaviour has shown him to be totally unfit for any high responsible office. Even after the retirement of the late Dewan, the infliction of a fresh hardship upon him seemed to be premeditated, because another extract from the Minutes of Council was furnished both to him and myself by the Resident, to the purport that he 'should leave Travancore as his predecessors have done on similar occasions.' The ex-Dewan in order not to exasperate the Resident by refusal, was already thinking of going from this country, entirely against his will and at the risk of his and his family's health, and to their great inconvenience and loss; but I positively prevented him from doing so, and wrote officially to the Resident on the subject on the 29th July last to the following effect; that in the first place there is no parallel between this minister and his two immediate predecessors who have left the country immediately after their removal, at their own option, inasmuch as this Dewan has been my tutor which they were not, a distinction and relationship which I highly venerate. That the two former Dewans never thought of settling in this country, which they might have done had it suited their convenience, whereas this Dewan's case is quite different from theirs, because upon my promise of protecting him and his family, he had not only disposed of his house at Tanjore, but also built a large and costly one and purchased gardens at Trevandrum, for the express purpose of settling himself and spending the remainder of his days near me, moreover I even pledged myself that Soobrow would never interfere in public business. Thus having written, I requested the Resident to communicate the contents of my letter to the Government; but I am still ignorant whether he has done so or not. I think however he has not, because his expressions in person to me on this subject are equivocal and evasive. I trust however, My Lord, that Your Lordship will never permit any such injustice towards my old teacher and late Dewan, or

any such infringements of my privilege and authority to be perpetrated.

" About a month after I had thus permitted Kristna Row temporarily to preside over the public affairs, the Resident importuned me to nominate him Head Dewan Peishcar, on a salary of Rs, 800 a month, with this also I complied with a view to a conciliation ; but the evil consequences of this measure were soon apparent. Kristna Row elated by his success, began to consider me with the most marked ánd public disrespect ; and by his dissolute conduct, low vulgar manners and arbitrary disposition has made himself universally detested, and to be considered a scourge to the country.

" The result is that petitions are frequently presented to me by many praying for redress from his unjust and oppressive acts, under an impression of the uselessness of addressing the Resident whose blind partiality to him is well-known.

" I take this opportunity to state to Your Lordship that I consider the observations of the Madras Government, and the Honourable Court of Directors, regarding the state of the finances of the Sirkar to be most judicious ; and that I shall not fail to take proper steps in this matter, as soon as the agitations of my mind caused by the present untoward circumstances shall have subsided.

" Having now laid the statement of my grievance before Your Lordship, I beg to assure Your Lordship that as I consider I owe my country, honour, dignity and all privileges and earthly enjoyments, solely to the justice and protection of the British Government, I am fully aware of the great utility of being guided in all important matters by the advice of the Resident ; and have always been so by that of all former Residents, but in the present case, as the interference of General Cullen amounts to an absolute annihilation of my authority. I beg Your Lordship to bestow a favourable attention to my case, and relieve me from my present state of anxiety, either by means of direct correspondence, or if practicable by sending to me one of your confidential officers, to whom I will personally disclose many other particulars relative to the present posture of affairs and propose to him such arrangements as I think conducive to the good Government of my country, so that he may by his explanation enable Your Lordship to form your judgment upon it, and to guide me by your judicious counsel."

APPENDIX VI

LORD HARRIS' LETTER OF WARNING AT THE INSTANCE OF LORD DALHOUSIE IN 1855

" 1. It is with deep concern that I feel myself compelled to address Your Highness upon the present state of Travancore Territory.

" 2. From the repeated complaints, which have for a considerable time past, been forwarded to Government by various parties of Your Highness' subjects or residing within your territory; from the diaries and reports of my Resident at your Court and information derived from other sources, I have been forced to the conclusion that grave abuses prevail in Your Highness' administration and pervade nearly every branch of it.

" 3. These abuses have of late formed the subject of much correspondence between the Government and the Resident, and the Resident has no doubt made known to you through the Dewan the views of Government. There is too much reason to fear that your Police is inefficient and corrupt, that notorious offenders escape apprehension and punishment, while others on the mere suspicion of crime are arrested and confined for months without being brought to trial.

" 4. It is stated that your Tribunals, civil and criminal, are venal and in no degree enjoy or deserve the confidence of the people and that no endeavour is made to raise the character of the country by the appointment of men of integrity and reputation.

" 5. Reports which have been made to my Government show that the Sircar servants, Revenue, Police and Judicial, throughout Travancore, are not punctually paid their salaries and it is to be feared that in consequence of this irregularity they are perforce driven to prey upon the people.